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THE MONTANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

"To Preserve, To Publish, and To Promote interest in,
The History of Montana"

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Contents:

Dedication	1
Beginning of the Montana Sheep Industry, as Narrated, By John F. Bishop	5
Sidelights of Montana History, By Lew L. Callaway	9
Route of the Covered Wagon, 1865, Itinerary of the Mullan Road	13
The Genesis of the Clark-Daly Feud, By Kenneth Ross Toole	21
Territorial Gold Mines in 1869	35
Membership in the Historical Society	58
BOOKS and REVIEWS	59
NOTES and COMMENT	65
CONTRIBUTORS	68

Map of the Territory of Montana, Reproduction of the
W. W. DeLacy map, 1865, in pocket, back cover.

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THE MONTANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY

This issue of THE MONTANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY has the silver fleece cover to call attention to one of Montana's vital industries — the raising of sheep. Since territorial days, sheep, wool and mutton have been exported from Montana, and have been a financial factor in the economic development of the state.

The reproduction of the Territorial map accompanying this issue will be of interest in showing the grouping of settlements, lines of communication, geographic features, and early county boundaries.

The MONTANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY seeks to permanently record the pioneer footprints on the sands of time, and the blazed trail of the men and women who in their own way launched the beginnings for the future. Every generation, pioneers for those which come after, and successive generations must always retreat into the past for their origin and the creation of the civilization about them.

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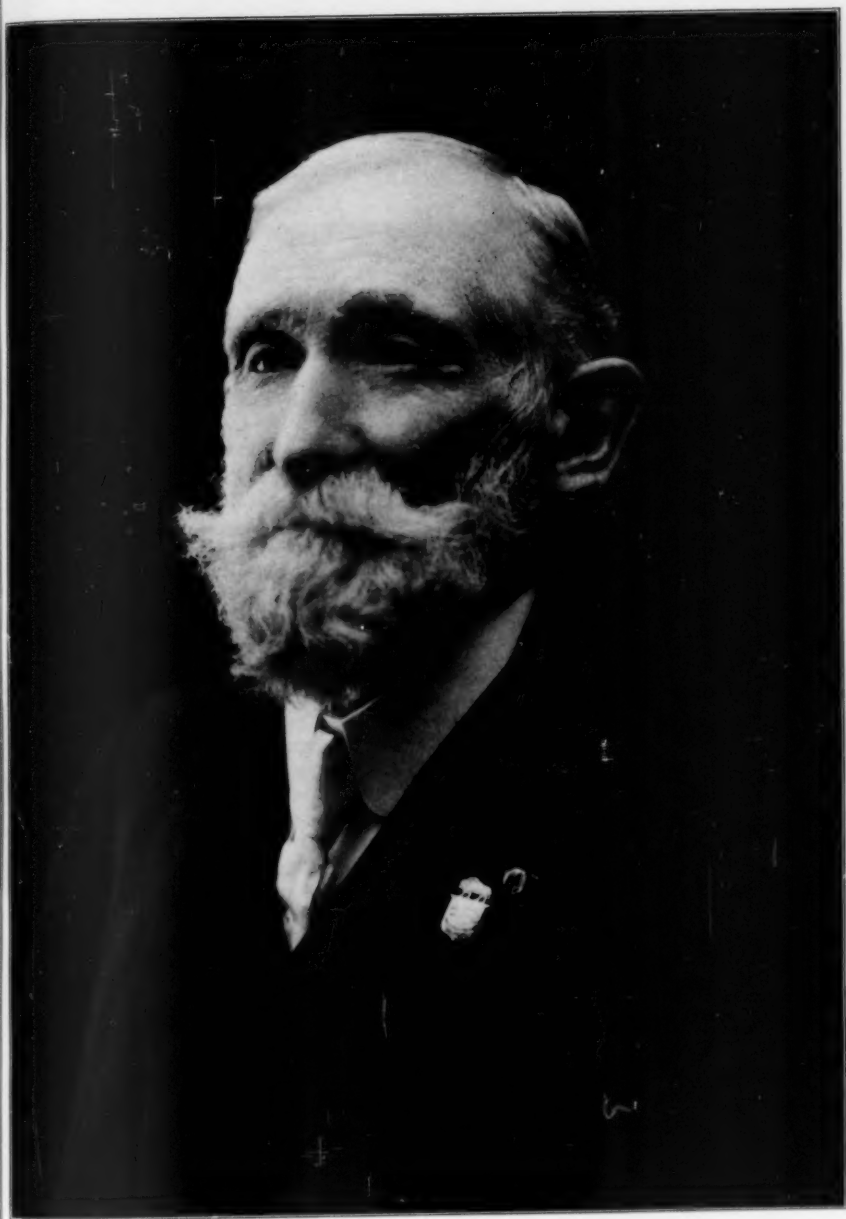
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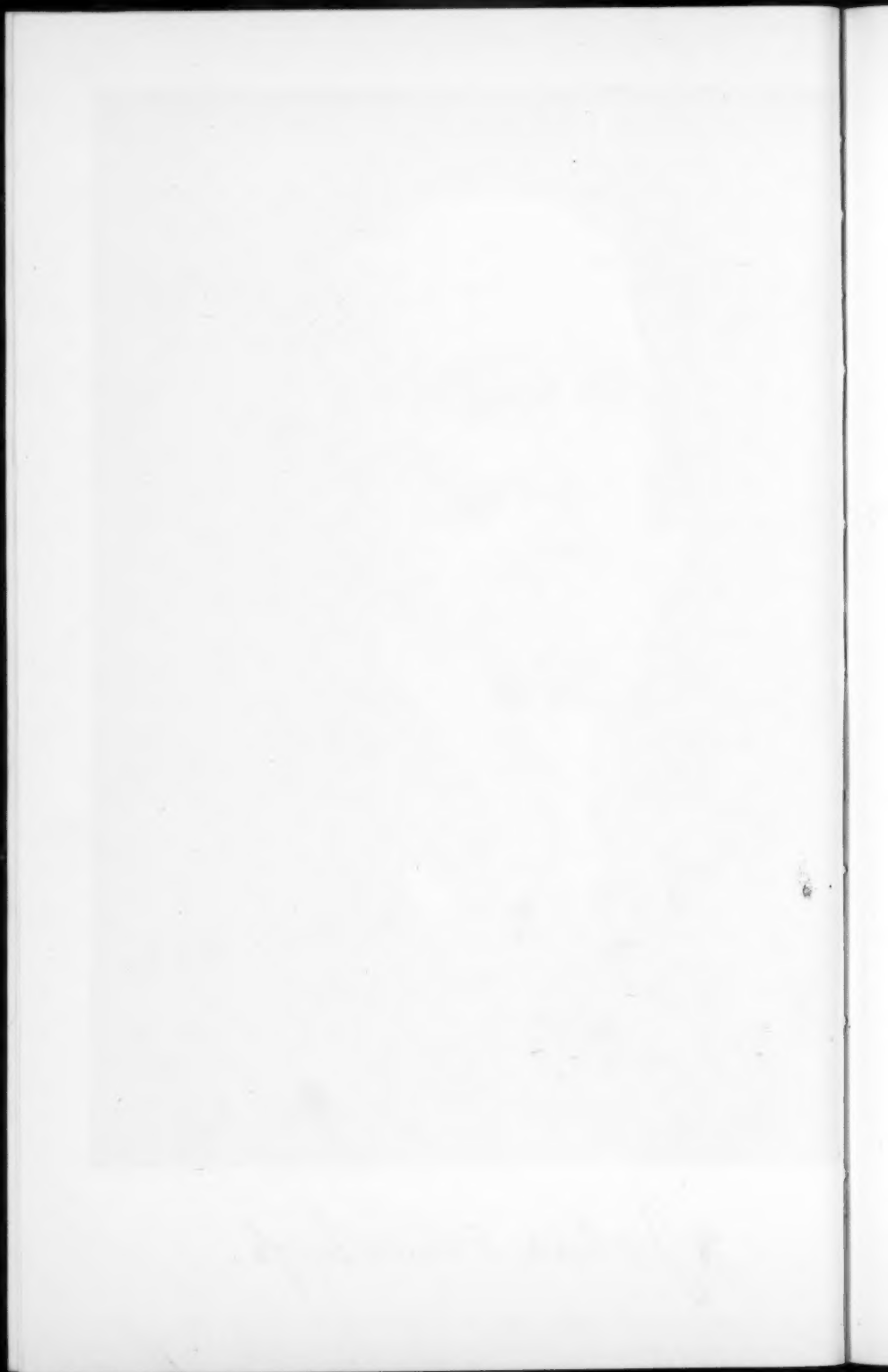
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John F Bishop



BEGINNING OF THE MONTANA SHEEP INDUSTRY

As Narrated by John F. Bishop

Introduction

Since pioneer days the silver fleeces of Montana sheep have added greatly to the wealth of the Treasure State, and have been a valued product of Montana grass lands. Not as spectacular as the romanticized days of the great cattle round-ups and cowboy adventures, the "saga of sheep" is an inescapable part of the history of the west and Montana.

The coming of the woolies to Montana territory as a large scale business undertaking began in earnest in 1869 with the arrival of a large band of sheep from Oregon. Interested in this undertaking were John F. Bishop of Dillon and his neighbor, Richard A. Reynolds, who personally took charge of the overland trek of a large band of 1,500 sheep. The reminiscences of this venture were recorded by Mr. Bishop, and were transcribed by his daughter, Jean Bishop, for reproduction here.

John Ferdinand Bishop (1836-1928) and his friend, Richard A. Reynolds (1842-1904) were both Montana pioneers, and their activities when Montana was young, have found mention in several histories of Montana. The narrative of Mr. Bishop has historical importance, since it is a source record of the beginning of sheep raising as an industry and the start of competition for the grass of the open range. Mr. Bishop was active in raising sheep and cattle until 1899 when he sold his extensive ranch holdings. He was president of the Society of Montana Pioneers in 1920-1921 and in 1927 was honored by the National Wool Growers Association as a real pioneer in the sheep raising industry.¹

About the 1st of July, 1869, Dick Reynolds and I and a man by the name of Brown started for Oregon to buy horses. Brown had a span of mules and a wagon and Dick and I had a wagon and a span of horses. We drove to Bannack, then to the head of Horse Prairie, crossed the (Continental) Divide to Junction, Idaho, then across Lemhi Creek, over another divide and down Birch Creek to the lava beds in the Snake River country. Sometime, near the Three Buttes, volcanoes had covered the whole valley with lava

¹ Michael A. Leeson, *History of Montana* (Chicago, 1885), p. 994, (Reynolds); *Society of Montana Pioneers*, Vol. 1, *Register*, edited by James U. Sanders (Akron, Ohio, 1899), p. 46, (Bishop); Helen Fitzgerald Sanders, *A History of Montana*, (3 Vols., Chicago, 1913) Vol. II, p. 890, (Bishop); *Progressive Men of the State of Montana* (Chicago; A. W. Bowen & Co.) p. 51, (Bishop), p. 382; (Reynolds); Ed-Norris Wentworth, *American Sheep Trails*, (Ames, Iowa, 1948), p. 263-4, 295.—Editor.

from five to forty feet thick. Thousands of acres are covered with lava so rough that man or beast cannot cross it.

We traveled along the foot of the mountains until we came to Lost River. This was the 4th of July, 1869. The mosquitoes were so bad we went on until we came to a rise of ground and then camped. There are two Lost Rivers. They come down from the mountains to the valley and sink. All the streams along here sink in the lava rock.

We traveled about thirty-five miles a day. We passed through Camas Prairie, one of the finest valleys I ever saw. Camas Prairie had been settled up but the settlers had all left. I think the Indians had run them out. There were dozens of chimneys standing but no houses. The camas root was very thick. This road was the old Oregon Trail that crossed Snake River at old Fort Hall.

We went on to Boise City on the Boise River. We had traveled 400 miles from Bannack and found no ranches along the way. Boise had about 800 people. It is a fine country. We kept on down the Snake until we came to Olds Ferry. We crossed the Snake River there. Everything went O. K. It is a new country with lots of grass and water. There were very few settlers after crossing the Snake. We went up Burnt Fork Creek to Baker City, Oregon. Here was a hotel and a blacksmith shop. We passed through Grande Ronde valley, a fine valley with a few settlers.

Next we came to the Umatilla Indian Reservation and went on to Umatilla City on the Columbia River. We staid here a few days and Brown left us. He crossed the Columbia and headed for Puget Sound. We never saw him again. Reynolds and I left Umatilla and started for the Willamette Valley on the west side of the Cascade Mountains. We took what was called the Barlow Cut-off across the Cascade Range. Then we followed along the foot of Mount Hood. There were lots of trees there sixteen feet in diameter. We came out at Oregon City and went up the Willamette to Salem the Capitol of Oregon. We crossed the river here and went down to Portland.

Portland in 1869 was a small town with little more than one street along the river. Loading our team and wagon on the boat we took passage up the Columbia River to The Dalles. Having changed our minds about buying horses we looked about for a band of sheep. I sold my gold dust and took greenbacks in exchange, getting a dollar in paper for 75 cents in gold. On a ranch three miles from The Dalles we found sheep that suited us belonging to a man named Beasley. I got eleven hundred head of

ewes and Dick four hundred. I paid \$2.75 per head in greenbacks for my sheep.

It was about the first of August, 1869 that we got started back for Montana. A man who had gone broke gambling offered to help drive the sheep to work his passage. We crossed the Deschutes River on a toll bridge and paid \$40.00 toll on the outfit. The salmon run up the Deschutes and the Indians catch and dry them by the thousands. From the Deschutes we took the old road by Fort Watson. Here three goats joined the sheep. We told a soldier about them and he said to let them follow if they wanted to and they came all the way to Montana.

We crossed the Blue Mountains by a toll road, paying out another \$40.00, and came to Canyon City. Here we met for the first time Tom Poindexter. (Mr. Poindexter, his wife and five sons later became prominent residents of Dillon, Montana.) We staid over a day here and bot bolts of heavy muslin or drill and cut some stakes. We fastened a stake to the cloth about every ten feet so that we could use it for a corral at night. In the morning we rolled it up and put it in the wagon.

From here we struck across to the Malheur River and followed it down to the Snake. When we came to a small stream the sheep would usually swim but sometimes we had to throw a crude bridge across the water. We crossed the Snake at Keene's Ferry. Again it cost \$40.00. Here I traded my mules for a mare called Web-Foot Susan, an unusually fine animal. I took her to the first Montana Fair in Helena the next year and won a premium of \$40.00.

Soon we reached the Boise River and were back on the road we came out on. We forded the river and had a very hard time getting the sheep across as they wouldn't go into the water. Back in Boise City again we had a 400 mile drive ahead of us without a settlement. But the only mishap we had was when I tipped the wagon over and lost most of our pail of molasses. There was small chance of getting any more.

On Lost River we came to a place where some Chinamen were camped for the night. First we knew they had started a fire which was fast getting out of hand. All of us worked like mad and got it put out before it burned up the sheep and the Chinese outfit. Soon they began to cook their supper. I went over to their fire to watch them and found they had dressed off a skunk. The meat looked very nice. They put it on the fire to boil and stirred up some dumplings. Each man pinched off a lump of

dough and marching around the pot dropped it into the stew. What this ceremony meant I did not learn. Their supper looked good and they asked me to eat with them but I went back to our own sour dough bread and beans, and molasses.

Finally we got back to Junction, Idaho, crossed over the Main Range of the Rockies by Bannack Pass into Horse Prairie and reached Bannack on the Grasshopper Creek Nov. 7th, 1869. We estimated the trip from The Dalles with the sheep at 800 miles and we had made it in 80 days of travel. Ten miles a day to the tune of blating sheep.

We drove the sheep to John Selway's ranch on the Black Tail Deer Creek for a month and then to Birch Creek where Dick herded them during the winter. He lived in a wickiup and did not suffer from cold as it was a mild winter. The sheep came through in fine shape without any hay. There was a settler on the creek who had two or three cows. He wrote me a letter saying that unless I took the sheep away he would scatter the sheep and kill the herder. I warned Dick and took him a six-shooter. Dick, tho a gentle mannered man, wasn't afraid to take anybody's bluff and nothing came of the matter. This was the beginning of the range war between the cattle and sheep men. It never amounted to much in our part of Montana.

In the spring we drove the sheep to my ranch on the Beaverhead and sheared them. It was hard to get men who knew how to shear or were willing to do it. We paid 15 cents a head. We had no sacks to put the wool in nor any twine to tie it up with. We cut up rope and separated it to make twine and tied up the fleeces. We sold the wool to Col. Charles A. Broadwater who ran the Diamond R for 19 cents a pound. He hauled it to Corinne, Utah to the railroad and shipped it to St. Louis.

SIDELIGHTS OF MONTANA HISTORY

By Lew L. Callaway

One of the early permanent settlements of the Territory of Montana, then Idaho, was a segment of a valley between two canyons about 18 miles apart. The river through the valley was named by Lewis and Clark the Philantrophy, as they named also the Wisdom, two of the main streams which form the Jefferson near present Twin Bridges, so called by the explorers "in commemoration of two of those cardinal virtues, which have so eminently marked that deservedly silibrated [sic] character through life," referring to the expedition's sponsor, Mr. Thomas Jefferson. "Posterity, alas, transformed Wisdom River into the Big Hole and Philantrophy into the Stinking Water," observes Mr. Blakeless. To those who dwelt among the pioneers the reason for the change to Big Hole is clear enough, but why to Stinking Water? The lovely stream does not deserve such gross treatment. Three reasons are given, but one, the last, is reasonable: (1) On its lands Indian Tribes fought a fierce battle leaving many dead; (2) the Indians left the remains of countless buffalo at the foot of a cliff to rot; (3) the maladorous vapor from the thermal springs in which Indian and white man in succession cured his ailments, polluted the air. More than a hundred years ago there did not remain any evidence of an Indian battle, and although there were numerous ancient buffalo skulls scattered in the meadows, the trappers said the oldest Indians reported that their grandfathers had never seen a live buffalo in the valley.

It is true that the odors are not pleasant, but Montana's first fashionable "Watering Place" was Puller's Springs, in the seventies or before. The white man, afflicted with various maladies, generally called "rheumatiz" came on stretchers and under direction of a physician; some of the worst beset were thrust into the hot mud called Beelzebub, shrieking with pain, imploring divine assistance, as "God help me"; "this is Hell." It amused healthy boys, who were certain the victim would go fishing with grasshopper bait not longer than two weeks hence. However it was that the name Stinking Water attached to the river, that antedated the Passamari which was given it by the Snake Indians to which tribe it signified "the water of the Cottonwood groves,"

and by that pleasant name it first appears on Government maps; but the offensive Stinking Water continued to prevail. However, the river runs near the Easterly and Northerly base of the range of mountains which occasionally in the morning or evening gleams like rubies in the sun-light; hence the name Ruby range. Someone, with zeal of a poet, caused to be enacted in the Legislature of 1877, an Act changing the name of the river forever after to the Ruby. Praise be .

The Square and Compass Brand

From an early time the Salt Lake road crossed the Red Rock river, ran through Price's Canyon and to Blacktail Deer Creek, went over the "big hill" (it was big, and with no water), and for some miles paralleled Sweet Water Creek to its confluence with the Stinking Water. The original telegraph line ran beside the road for many miles, and to Virginia City. Near a famous spring flowing into the Sweet Water, a pioneer established Belmont Park, the first standard trotting-horse establishment in the Territory. The valley also contained the ranches upon which pure-bred short-horn cattle brought from Kentucky were first bred in Montana, Alexander Metzel's York Ranch being the pioneer. Mr. Metzel was largest cattle owner in the valley for many years, his brand being the Circle A—an A with a circle. O my, how it did "blotch." Seen in considerable numbers was the Square and Compass brand of the great firm of Poindexter & Orr, whose main ranch was at the crossing of the highway (the Salt Lake road) at Blacktail Deer Creek. This brand looked like the badge my father wore, except that it did not have a letter in its center. Afterwards it was observed widely in the Miles City country.

Its owner were Philip H. Poindexter and William C. Orr. These gentlemen had gotten together in northern California in the 1850's where they formed a partnership which lasted for life. Mr. Orr drove a herd of cattle to Bannack in 1865 and thence to the Blacktail. The next year he returned to California for the remainder of the Poindexter and Orr herd, which he drove to the Blacktail, the home ranch. The cattle thrive and were numerous on that range and ours. We knew the P. & O. people in the seventies. Mr. Orr sent one of his elder sons, Matt, to the Virginia City schools. Matt and I were friends.

The cattlemen of the Upper Ruby Valley, after 1877 built large corrals as a community enterprise at the central point of the valley, commonly called Roundup corral. The great event in the spring was the roundup in which "everybody" took part. Our

neighbors from the Blacktail sent representative cowboys. From this custom comes the inspiration for this narrative.

Noted Cattle Roundup

About the first of May, 1882, then in my fourteenth year, I was at the Callaway ranch in the Upper Ruby, then occupied by Capt. James Williams, famed head of the Vigilantes aforetime, who was in partnership with my father in the cattle business. Capt. Williams received word from Poindexter & Orr that they were intending to sell a large number of the cattle from their range; he had better come over and protect his interests. So the Captain concluded to go to the P. & O. ranch taking his oldest son, Jim, and me with him.

It was about a 30-mile ride; took practically all day. We took our blankets with us. Arriving and taking off our saddles we inquired where we should turn our horses. The P. & O. man said, "turn 'em in the calf pasture." The calf pasture at home was a field of, say 10 acres. I asked "where is the next fence?" and he answered "about 10 miles; turn 'em out, we'll get 'em in the morning." We made our beds on the ground. It was my first big roundup. We spent several days at the P. & O. ranch. The Blacktail was high, generally unfordable. The weather was warm for May. We rose before sunrise; indeed, it seemed daybreak to me, and it was cold. We got into our clothes in a hurry, caught our horses which were ill-tempered. They shrunk from the frigid saddle-blankets, saddles, and bridles; stood humped-over which was a warning. Some bucked when the riders mounted. In the meantime the cook yelled "grub-pile" and breakfast was ready. (Goodness knows how long the cook had been out of bed.) It consisted of black coffee which you got from the pot in a pint tin cup. No Sugar. Hot baking-powder bread from the Dutch ovens, fried meat. Same at noon or thereabouts, except that the meat was boiled in chunks. At night the meal was much the same. But after each meal all riders were good natured; happy one might say. We rode all day and after a talkative supper got early to bed.

An outstanding incident of this affair was the presence of a number of Englishmen representing in one capacity or another the intending purchasers. Nowadays we would say they were dressed up as drug-store cowboys. They were gentlemen, evidently well-educated, complete strangers in a strange environment. While doubtless they considered us natives of a frontier region and curiosities in our mannerisms and speech, they spoke with an

accent unknown to us, hard for us to understand. Our speech must have puzzled them. Our use of such words as latigo, lariat, quirt, cinch and corral, to mention a few only, were new to those recently from England. Some told us they learned to ride in the British army. We doubted if they had learned to ride anywhere. They were friendly people, not inclined to offend or "high hat." Without realizing it, some of us were absorbing some needed education. Perhaps they were also.

Finally, six thousand head, or so we were told at the time, were sold for \$150,000.00 to an English syndicate to be driven to near McLeod, Alberta. I helped drive the herd, the largest I ever saw, from the P. & O. ranch over the mountain ridge into Red Rock valley. From thence the herd was driven into Canada; they were making history there.

Imagine my delight, some two or three years ago, when my friend Dudley White, of Columbus, Montana, retired rancher and book collector, sent me by mail, a rare book, "Ranching With Lords and Commons." A major incident of which tells of that very roundup on the Blacktail. The reader will agree that it was fun to be a boy in the Territorial days in Montana.

The older P. & O. men were Masons — eventually they were members of the Dillon Lodge, Royal Arch Masons in Montana in 1895. His nephew, Joe to me, was born in the valley of the John Day river in Oregon. He and I were fellow District Judges in the early years of this century, and later Joe was appointed a Territorial Judge of Hawaii and later governor. Mr. Orr's youngest, John T. Orr, was Grand Master of Montana in 1940.

ROUTE OF THE COVERED WAGON, 1865

Itinerary of the Mullan Road From the Missouri to the Columbia Introduction

The Mullan road of pioneer days linked by a land route the navigable waters of the Columbia river with those of the Missouri, thus making a direct portage across the Rocky Mountains forming the Continental Divide. Originally the Mullan road was designed as a military project, with the letters "M.R." meaning Military Road, but time and usage interpreted this combination as an abbreviation for Mullan's Road. Popular tribute to Captain John Mullan, who supervised construction of the road from 1858 to 1862, conferred the honor.

Construction started at Walla Walla, Washington Territory, on the Columbia and continued through the wilderness later known as Idaho Territory, and then through a portion of later Montana Territory to Fort Benton, on the Upper Missouri. Like an earth-colored ribbon the route curved and twisted its way through mountain ranges, across streams and rivers by fords, ferries, and bridges, through forests and open tracts, and from lofty elevations to flat low-lands, to serve as a guiding "trail" for more than 600 miles.

As the road meandered it spelled the name of MULLAN in mile-high letters, as the astronomer of the road building expedition notes: "From the Pacific along the Columbia up to Mount Adams, down to the Cascades, up to Mount Hood and down to the Dalles, the profile is an M; along the Columbia, the Walla-Walla, the Touchet to the head of Reed Creek, down to the Tukonon to where Lewis discovered the Snake river, up the Pelouse on the high plains of the Columbia and down to the St. Joseph, the profile is a U; up the Coeur d'Alene to Sohon's Pass, and down the St. Regis Borgia to the Bitter Root, the profile is an L; up the Bitter Root, Hell Gate, Little Blackfoot, the profile is an L; by the Medicine Rock, Dearborn, Sun River, over the plains to the right of the Teton and along the winding Missouri to Fort Union, the profile is an AN."

Most of the travel over the Mullan road in its early days was undertaken by immigrants, who welcomed information as to the route and the proper equipment required. To assist prospective travelers, Mullan prepared and published a "Miners and Travelers' Guide" in 1865, which gave the entire itinerary, as well as data on rest stops, mileage and general information. It is from this guide book that the recommendations for travelers and log book of travel is here reproduced.

Today commemorating the line of travel of this historic highway are statue-markers, erected in Montana, Idaho and Washington. These indicate the approximate course of the 624 miles. Mullan's account of this western route of the covered wagon will indeed seem primitive in comparison with the luxury of automotive cruising of 1951. Yet it was

at one time a reality in the days before the gasoline age replaced the horse-mule-oxen combinations, which stomped the weary miles in the wilderness trek.¹

For persons who desire to leave St. Louis in the spring on steamer for Fort Benton, where the passage is from \$100 to \$200, and freight from 10 cents to 12 cents per pound, and who desire to make the land transit by wagon, I would advise that they provide themselves with a light spring wagon in St. Louis, also two to four sets of strong harness, and transport them to Fort Benton, where they can procure their animals, mules or horses. The former can be had from \$100 to \$150, the latter from \$50 to \$75; oxen, from \$110 to \$125 per yoke. Let them provide themselves with small kit of good strong tin or plated iron mess furniture; kettles to fit one in the other, tin plates and cups, and strong knives and forks; purchase their own supplies in St. Louis; brown sugar, coffee, or tea, bacon, flour, salt, beans, sardines, and a few jars of pickles and preserved fruits will constitute a perfect outfit in this department. I have found that for ten men for fifty days, the following is none too much on a trip of this kind: 625 pounds of flour, 50 pounds of coffee, 75 pounds of sugar, 2 bushels of beans, 1 bushel of salt, 625 pounds of bacon sides, 2 gallons of vinegar, 20 pounds of dried apples, 3 dozen of yeast powders, and by all means take two strong covered ovens (Dutch ovens.) These amounts can be increased or diminished in proportion to the number of men and number of days. If your wagon tires become loose on the road, caulk them with old gunny sacks, or in lieu thereof, with any other sacking; also soak the wheels well in water whenever an opportunity occurs. In loading the wagons, an allowance of four hundred pounds to the animal will be found sufficient for a long journey. For riding saddles, select a California or Mexican tree with machiers and taphaderos, hair girth, double grey saddle blanket, and strong snaffle bit.

If the intention is to travel with a pack train, take the cross-tree packsaddle, with crupper and breeching, and broad thick pads. Use lash-rope, with canvas or leather belly bands. Have a double blanket under each saddle. Balance the load equally on the two sides of the animal—the whole not to exceed two hundred

¹ Mullan's name as traced by the route is noted by J. Wiessner, astronomer, in *Report on the Construction of a Military Road from Fort Walla-Walla to Fort Benton*, by Captain John Mullan, U. S. A., (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), p. 183. The data prepared for travelers is taken from pages 10 to 17 of *Miners and Travelers' Guide to Oregon, Idaho, Montana, . . .*, prepared by John Mullan, (New York, 1865).

pounds. Have a canvas cover for each pack. A mule blind may be found useful in packing. Each pack animal should have a hack-ama, and every animal (packing and riding) a picket-rope, from thirty-five to forty feet long, and one inch in diameter. For my own purposes, I have always preferred the apparejo for packing, and have always preferred mules to horses. Packages of any shape can be loaded upon the apparejo more conveniently than upon the packsaddle. A bell animal should be always kept with a pack train and a grey mare is generally preferred. Every article to be used in crossing the plains should be of the best manufacture and strongest material. This will, in the end, prove true economy. Animals should be shod on the fore-feet, at least. Starting at dawn and camping not later than 2 P. M., I have always found the best plan in marching. Animals should not go out of a walk or a slow trot, and after being unloaded in camp they should always be allowed to stand with their saddles on and girths loose, for at least fifteen minutes, as the sudden exposure of their warm backs to the air tends to scald them. They should be regularly watered, morning, noon, and night. Never maltreat them, but govern them as you would a woman, with kindness, affection, and caresses, and you will be repaid by their docility and easy management. If you travel with a wagon, provide yourself with a jackscrow, extra tongue, and coupling pole; also, axle-grease, a hatchet and nails, auger, rope, twine, and one or two chains for wheel locking, and one or two extra whippetrees, as well as such other articles as in your own judgment may be deemed necessary. A light canvas tent, with poles that fold in the middle by a hinge, I have always found most convenient. Tables and chairs can be dispensed with, but if deemed absolutely necessary, the old army camp stool, and a table with lid that removes and legs that fold under, I have found to best subserve all camp requisites. Never take anything not absolutely necessary. This is a rule of all experienced voyageurs.

ADVICE TO EMIGRANTS BY THIS ROUTE

Those who start from the Upper Mississippi frontier can replenish their supplies at Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone, at Fort Benton, and, in addition, at the other points hitherto alluded to.

Those who travel by the central or Platte route, and desire to take the western section of the road to Walla Walla, can deflect either at Fort Laramie, the Red Buttes, or at Fort Hall, and connect with it at the Deer Lodge Valley.

The road from Fort Laramie to the Deer Lodge Valley has never been worked, but was passed over with wagons by Captain [W. F.] Reynolds, of the army, in 1859 and 1860, and by miners in 1863-64. It passes through a beautiful, easy and interesting region.

The road from Fort Hall to Deer Lodge has been used by wagons for many years; and though not worked is quite practicable.

ITINERARY OF ROUTE

The following Itinerary supposed the traveler to start from Walla-Walla; but by simply reversing the order of the record, no trouble will be had:

First day—Leave Walla-Walla and move seven and a half miles, to Dry Creek, and encamp at crossing; easy rolling prairie hills en route; wood, water, and grass at camp.

Second day—Leave Dry Creek and move eleven and a half miles, to Touchet Bridge, and encamp; easy rolling prairie hills en route; wood, water, and grass abundant.

Third day—From Touchet take wood in wagons for two days; move seven miles, to the springs, and encamp; grass and water here, but no wood; level prairie road en route.

Fourth day—Leave Springs and move to Snake River; distance, twenty miles; grass, water, and drift wood here; graze animals on hills on left bank; good road over rolling prairie, somewhat hilly.

Fifth day—Cross Snake River by ferry-boat; charge for wagons, \$4; men, fifty cents each; riding and pack animals, fifty cents each; swim loose stock, or, if preferred ferry same. Move to Palouse, distance, fourteen and a half miles; water and grass; willows for fuel. It would be well to take a small quantity of driftwood along from Snake River; good road.

Sixth day—Move to Cow Creek; distance, eleven miles. Wood, water, and grass at camp; good place to rest animals for a day, if required.

Seventh day—Move to Aspen Grove; distance, 18 miles; good road. Wood, water and grass at camp; good place to rest animals, if required.

Eighth day—Move to Lagoon camp; distance, twenty-one and a half miles; good road; wood, water, and grass at camp.

Ninth day—Move to Rock Creek; distance, twelve and a half miles; somewhat stony, but animals should be shod, in which case they will travel well; wood, water, and grass at camp.

Tenth day—Move to Hangman's Creek; distance, nineteen miles; good road; wood, water, and grass at camp.

Eleventh day—Move to Spokane River; distance, twelve and a half miles, and cross; wood, water, and grass at camp; good place to rest animals; charge for each wagon, \$4; for each man fifty cents; swim loose stock, or ferry, if preferred. There is a ford eight miles above.

Twelfth day—Move to camp on Spokane, at the edge of the timber; distance sixteen miles; good road; wood, water, and grass abundant.

Thirteenth day—Move to Wolf's Lodge Prairie; distance, eighteen miles; road hilly in places, but not bad; wood, water, and grass at camp.

Fourteenth day—Move to the Coeur d'Alene Mission; distance, seventeen miles; road hilly at one or two places, but not bad; wood, water, and grass at the mission. Good place to rest animals for a day or two, and which is by all means advisable, as you now enter the timber, where the camp grounds have to be specially selected, and the animals should be well rested. Vegetables may be had at the mission.

Fifteenth day—Move to Mud or Ten-mile Prairie; road good; in very early spring may be wet in places; good camp for wood, grass, and water. A good camp may also be had in seven miles from the mission, in open timber; water three hundred yards to the north of road, in running creek; good place for animals.

Sixteenth day—Move to the fifteenth bridge; good water and wood; grass is not very abundant, but there are a number of small prairies above and below this bridge where grass is found; about half a mile below the bridge, on right bank, is a fine prairie; road good; distance, sixteen miles.

Seventeenth day—Move to Johnson's Cut-off, which is a ravine from the north. The head of this ravine and the hills around it furnish an abundance of grass. This may be the worst day's march, as it involves many crossings, and the road may be wet; distance, eleven miles. An endeavor should be made to camp here at the risk of getting late into camp.

Eighteenth day—Move to Long Prairie; distance, three miles; road good, unless during the freshet, when some of the crossing may be swollen. Long Prairie is one mile long, one fourth of a mile broad; grass in large portion; grass also on hills to its north, just before the descent into the prairie; a blind trail leads to it through the timber.

Nineteenth day—Make an early start and cross summit of Bitter Root mountains; may have to double teams at second curve. Move to Five-Mile Prairie, on St. Regis Borgia river; distance, eleven and a half miles; grass sparse; wood and water abundant.

Twentieth day—Move eleven and a half miles to Sawyer's Prairie; charges for crossing the same as at the Spokane and Snake Ferries. The stream is fordable in very low water, but I would advise all strangers to cross in the ferry-boat, as the ford is a dangerous one, except to those who know it well. Rest your animals at this point. Good camp, with wood, water, and grass.

Twenty-fourth day—Move nine and a half miles to Brown's prairie; good road; wood, water, and grass at camp.

Twenty-fifth day—Move fifteen and a half miles to west end of Big Side-cut, and camp at foot of mountain, on small creek. Wood, water, and grass abundant; may have to double teams over Brown's Cut-off divide, going either way; road good, with this exception.

Twenty-sixth day—Move over Big Side-cut to a camp on Main River, one mile above the Rocky Points, where the road passes through a rocky defile; distance, seventeen miles; road fair; wood, water, and grass at camp.

Twenty-seventh day—Move to Brown's house, twelve miles distant; road good; wood, water, and grass at camp.

Twenty-eighth day—Move to Higgin's and Worden's store, at Hell's Gate, distance twelve and a half miles; road excellent; wood, water, and grass here; good place to rest animals for a day or two; blacksmith's shop at Van Dorn's, and supplies of all kinds can be obtained, dry goods, groceries, beef, vegetables, and fresh animals, if needed.

Twenty-ninth day—Move to Big Blackfoot bridge, eleven miles; road good; wood, water, and grass abundant.

Thirtieth day—Move to Campbell's camp, fifteen miles; excellent road; good wood, water and grass abound.

Thirty-first day—Move to Lannon's camp, nine miles; road excellent; may have to double teams at Beaver Tail butte; wood, water, and grass abundant.

Thirty-second day—Move eleven miles to Lyon's Creek, crossing en route Hell's Gate bridge; road good; wood, water, and grass at camp.

Thirty-third day—Move to Flint Creek, distance eleven miles; road somewhat hilly but still not steep; wood, water, and grass at camp.

Thirty-fourth day—Move thirteen and one half miles to Gold Creek or American Fork of Hell's Gate River; road excellent; wood, water, and grass at camp; supplies of all kinds to be had here, dry goods, groceries, fresh beef, animals, and possibly vegetables.

Thirty-fifth day—Move to Deer Lodge River, distance sixteen miles; road hilly but not requiring double teaming; wood, water, and grass at camp; Deer Lodge would be found a good place to rest for a day or two; fresh beef to be had here from the settlers.

Thirty-sixth day—Move to Little Blackfoot River, seventeen and a quarter miles; road generally good; hilly at one or two points; but not steep; good wood, grass, and water at camp.

Thirty-seventh day—Move to west base of Rocky Mountains, at Mullan's Pass, thirteen and a half miles; road generally good, though sometimes wet in early spring; no ascending the north fork of Little Blackfoot; wood, water, and grass at camp.

Thirty-eight day—Cross summit of Rocky Mountains and go seven miles to Fir Creek; road good; wood, water, and grass at camp.

Thirty-ninth day—Move seventeen miles to Little Prickly Pear creek; road hilly in places but not bad; camps at shorter distances can be made, as several creeks are passed en route; Soft Bed Creek midway offer a good camp; this would be a good place to rest animals.

Fortieth day—Start early and go over Medicine Rock Mountain fifteen and a half miles; this is the worst day's march; road rocky in places, but, with care, easily made; wood, water, and grass at camp on Oversight Creek.

Forty-first day—Move twenty miles to the Dearborn River; wood, water, and grass at camp.

Forty-second day—Move to Bird Tail Rock, fifteen miles; road excellent; water and grass at camp; willows for fuel but scant; it would be well to pack wood from the Dearborn or Sun Rivers, according to which way you are traveling.

Forty-third day—Move to Blackfoot Agency, or Sun River, eighteen and a half miles; excellent road; wood, water, and grass at camp; good place to rest animals for a day or two; in high water there is a ferry-boat for crossing.

Forty-fourth day—Move eight miles to the point where you leave Sun River; road excellent; wood, water, and grass at camp.

Forty-fifth day—Move sixteen miles to the lake; road excellent; water and grass; take wood from camp.

Forty-sixth day—Move to the springs, seven miles; water and grass, but no wood; or you can go to the Big Coulee, sixteen miles further, and encamp on the Missouri River; road good.

Forty-seventh day—Move to Fort Benton, twenty-seven miles, if you encamp at the springs, or eleven miles if you encamp at the Big Coulee. The latter never was a portion of my road, but was worked by Major Delaney Floyd Jones, and I am not responsible either for its location or the character of the work performed.

If you are going from Fort Benton, it would be preferable to camp at the spring. This can be accomplished by starting early; and I should advise all parties traveling with wagons to avoid the Big Coulee. If water be not sufficiently abundant at the springs, then encamp at the lake. It may be found best to start at dawn and make the lake. The road is excellent.

The total distance herein is six hundred and twenty-four miles, made in forty-seven days traveling; or, allowing eighteen days for delays, contingencies, and recruiting animals, in fifty-five days, with loaded wagons; or in thirty-five days if you are traveling with pack animals.

GENERAL DIVISION OF ROUTE

Our road involved one hundred and twenty miles of difficult timber-cutting, twenty-five feet broad, and thirty measured miles of excavation, fifteen to twenty feet wide. The remainder was either through an open, timbered country, or over open, rolling prairie. From Walla-Walla eastward the country might be described in succinct terms as follows: First one hundred and eighty miles, open, level, or rolling prairie; next one hundred and twenty miles, densely timbered mountain bottoms; next two hundred and twenty-four miles, open timbered plateaus, with long stretches of prairie; and next one hundred miles, level or rolling prairie. Thus it is seen that the Rocky and Bitter Root Mountains rise midway in our route, with long prairie slopes on either side; that the latter are intersected in every direction by streams flowing from both water-sheds, and rising in the heart of the mountain system; that these prairie stretches interpose but slight obstructions to the location of a road, and it is only in the more elevated central sections where our sterner engineering problems are to be met.²

²This noted pioneer highway was later closely followed by the Yellowstone Trail, which in turn went out of existence when numbered routes were adopted for national highways.

THE GENESIS OF THE CLARK-DALY FEUD

By Kenneth Ross Toole

The spectacular "War of the Copper Kings" involving the Montana copper barons and ultimately the Amalgamated Copper Company, the National City Bank of New York and such Wall Street notables as William Rockefeller, Henry H. Rogers and Thomas W. Lawson, has been the subject of many accounts. It has been most fully treated in such popular works as C. B. Glasscock's **War of the Copper Kings** and C. P. Connolly's **The Devil Learns to Vote**, and it has been the subject of numerous monographs and special studies.¹

The "War" may properly be said to have begun on the 10th of November, 1888, the day on which was born the enmity between William Andrews Clark, Butte millionaire and miner, and Marcus Daly, general manager and part owner of the great Anaconda Copper Mining Company. For twelve years these two men fought it out in Montana.

Though the events of the feud itself and of the political war into which it grew have been fully treated, the origin of Daly's and Clark's enmity has remained a subject of much conjecture and one concerning which little accurate information has been

¹ The first treatment of the feud which began the war was C. P. Connolly's serialized article "The Story of Montana," *McLure's Magazine*, XXVI-XXVIII, 1906-1907. Connolly's **The Devil Learns to Vote**, (New York, 1938) is little more than a rehash of the articles. In addition to Glasscock's **War of the Copper Kings**, (New York, 1935), in which the feud is a principal theme, it is treated in Joseph Kinsey Howard, **Montana: High Wide and Handsome**, (New Haven, 1943); William D. Mangam, **The Clarks: An American Phenomenon**, (New York, 1941); Jerre C. Murphy, **Comical History of Montana**, (San Diego, 1912). It is competently analysed in Forrest Leroy Foor, **The Senatorial Aspiration of William A. Clark**, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of California, 1941. It is discussed at some length though without contribution in Clayton Farrington, **The Political Life of William Andrews Clark**, unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Montana, 1942. The part that F. Augustus Heinze played in the feud is fully set forth in Sarah McNelis, **The Life of F. Augustus Heinze**, unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Montana, 1947. The story of the ultimate results, after the Anaconda Company was purchased by Standard Oil, is treated in Thomas W. Lawson, **Frenzied Finance: The Crime of Amalgamated**, (New York, 1905).

available. The events to be considered here throw some light on the matter of origin.³

Early in the Fall of 1888 William Andrews Clark decided to run as Montana's territorial delegate to Congress. Clark, several times over a millionaire, was peculiarly vain and it was a vanity best fed by political adulation. A man of white-starched fastidiousness and an aloof bearing, there was little about his person to attract votes, but he had wealth and great influence in the Democratic party. He won the nomination and, since Montana had long been a solidly Democratic territory, he and his supporters considered nomination tantamount to election.

At the general election in November, however, Clark was decisively defeated by his young and comparatively unknown Republican opponent, Thomas H. Carter. Clark was stunned. He sought the reason for his defeat in the official returns and soon discovered it. There had been treason in the party ranks. The Democratic stronghold of Butte had gone heavily Republican and the nearby smelter city of Anaconda had done likewise. The Democratic lumber counties to the west returned peculiarly strong Republican majorities.⁴

It was thus that Clark was forcibly reminded of a rumor that he had heard and discounted before the election. The rumor, which had even found its way into the press, was to the effect that Marcus Daly of the Anaconda Company was secretly supporting Clark's opponent.⁴

Daly was no less a force in the party than Clark. Like Clark he had amassed a fortune by 1888, and he was a man of substantial influence. He was the founder of the great Anaconda mine, and in the short space of eight years he had built an organization that supported, directly and indirectly, thousands of persons. He had founded the City of Anaconda and there built the world's largest smelter. He owned newspapers, hotels, race tracks and a bank. Like Clark, too, Daly was politically

³Mr. Herbert Peet of Seattle has made an exhaustive study of Montana history in the period of the '70's and '80's. The author is indebted to Mr. Peet for much information with respect to the feud's origin. A copy of the voluminous notes received from Mr. Peet in response to questions is on file with the Daly Papers, (BD 17) Montana State Historical Library, Helena. The notes, hereafter cited as *Peet Manuscript*, are particularly valuable for the excerpts from letters written by oldtimers to Mr. Peet, from which Mr. Peet quotes at length.

⁴For official returns see *Butte Miner*, November 14, 1888.

⁴See particularly the *Anaconda Review*, Sept. 13, 1888. Intimations that Daly was at best only lukewarm in support of Clark appeared regularly in Republican papers throughout October. See *Butte Intermountain*, *Helena Record*, and *Helena Herald*.

ambitious, but his ambition was of a different kind. He sought no office but sought rather to call the turn in political affairs.⁸

Clark was not naive and he perceived at once that Anaconda's and Butte's Republican majorities in particular were attributable to Daly's influence. Further, it quickly became apparent that there was a tie-in between the Daly interests, those of the Northern Pacific Railroad and of a lumber company in Missoula County, the Montana Improvement Company. The Northern Pacific and the Montana Improvement Company had for some years controlled political affairs in the western counties.⁹

The day after his defeat Clark wrote the following letter to Martin Maginnis, a fellow Democrat who had campaigned for him:

Dear Major:

I have your valued favor of the 8th inst. for which you will please accept my best thanks. The conspiracy was a gigantic one, well planned and well carried out even though it did violate some of the most sacred confidences. . . . However, as you suggest, the day of retribution may come when treason may be considered odious. . . . In the meantime, please accept my thanks which I

⁸No adequate biography of Daly exists. To Paul C. Phillips' sketch of Daly's life in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 35, is appended a note to the effect that the sources are extraordinarily poor. Hugh Daly's *Biography of Marcus Daly*, (Butte, 1935) a thirty-five page pamphlet, is inaccurate. John Lindsay, *The Amazing Experiences of a Judge*, (Philadelphia, 1939) is almost devoid of helpful material in spite of the fact that Lindsay was Daly's private secretary for some years. Various sketches of Daly appear in Montana's newspapers, especially in obituary form, but they are largely anecdotal in nature. Perhaps most useful is the *Peet Manuscript* (see footnote 2). Kenneth Ross Toole, "The Anaconda Copper Mining Company: A price War and Copper Corner," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly*, October, 1950, contains some useful new material. The William Andrews Clark Memorial Library at Los Angeles and the Bancroft Library at Berkeley, California, are nearly devoid of material on Daly. Connolly, *op. cit.*, was a contemporary and friend of Daly's and his appraisal, though biased in Daly's favor, cannot be overlooked. Glasscock, *op. cit.*, relied primarily on Connolly and newspaper accounts. His work is biased in Daly's favor. A fair appraisal of Daly is Foor, *op. cit.*, which contains material used neither by Glasscock nor Connolly. Farrington, *op. cit.*, discusses Daly at some length but used unreliable secondary material.

⁹See Shirley J. Coon, *The Economic Development of Missoula, Montana*, unpublished Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1926, ch. IV and V; for information on the Montana Improvement Company and its activities. See also *The Annual Report of the Commissioner of Public Lands for the Year 1885*, (Washington, 1885), 81-83 and *Decisions of the Department of the Interior Relating to Public Lands*, (Washington, 1886) vol. IV, July 1885-June 1886, 65.

wish to extend to all my friends everywhere for their support. For the time being, I retire politically.'

Clark, like Daly, owned a newspaper, the **Butte Miner**. The **Miner** was irate and lost no time in blowing up the issue. Said its editor:

Mr. Clark was not defeated by Republicans. Probably at least 1,000 Democratic votes in this county were cast against him, and this, too, not for any personal nor any tariff considerations, but solely as a result of potent influences which are well understood and deeply deplored by the best thinking citizens of this county.'

A week later on his way east Clark told a reporter from the **St. Paul Pioneer Press** that there was a combination against him which could not be beaten. On Saturday, he said, the foreman of the night shift in the Anaconda mine ordered his men to vote for Carter. The day shift on Friday got the same orders, and five bosses were stationed at the polling place to see that the orders were carried out. Clark went on to accuse the Northern Pacific Railroad and the Montana Improvement Company of complicity.'

The same week the **Great Falls Tribune**, a paper edited by Jerry Collins, a Democrat who usually wrote without cavil, scored the Northern Pacific in a hot editorial condemning coercion and concluded: "As to Marcus Daly's part in this perfidious business, his apathy during the campaign and the vote in Anaconda and Butte tell the story. Comment would be idle."²⁸

The duration of Clark's bitterness is evidenced by a speech he made twelve years later in the United States Senate. The occasion was his resignation from that body as the result of a Senate investigation which had found him guilty of bribing the state legislature to elect him to the Senate. He told the Senate in his speech of resignation that Marcus Daly was behind it all. He reviewed the election of 1888, painted a picture of black Daly autocracy and coercion. He again condemned the Northern Pacific and the Montana Improvement Company and then said of Daly:

There had been no business difficulties between Daly and me and never an unkind word had been spoken between us. It was simply an envious and diabolical de-

²⁷ W. A. Clark to Martin Maginnis, November 10, 1888, Clark Papers, op. cit.

²⁸ **Butte Miner**, November 14, 1888.

²⁹ Reprinted in the **Helena Daily Herald**, November 22, 1888.

³⁰ **Great Falls Tribune**, November 21, 1888.

sire on his part to forever destroy my political influence in the territory."

A short time later Clark told a reporter from the **New York Herald** that so many misstatements had been made about the Clark-Daly feud that he would like the **Herald** to give a correct version of the affair. Again he reviewed the election of 1888. He told the reporter that he had always mistrusted Daly. He said that Daly had promised loyalty in 1888 and had even gone so far as to call Clark's wife into his office and assure her that rumors of his (Daly's) disloyalty were untrue.

At the time Clark was interviewed by the **Herald**, twelve years after the election in question, Marcus Daly was also in New York. He was in bed in the Netherlands Hotel, critically ill.¹¹ Clark, who on this occasion was also staying at the Netherlands, though in previous years he had avoided it because it was Daly's eastern headquarters, finished his interview with the **Herald's** reporter by saying: "Marcus Daly is now dying, the victim of his own spleen. He is the most violent tempered man I have ever known."¹²

All during the course of the feud, Daly was silent on the subject of the election. His paper, the **Anaconda Standard**, discussed Carter's victory right after the election and called Clark's defeat a "normal incident" in political affairs.¹³ The **Standard** did not answer the charges flung by Clark and his supporters, nor did Daly. When, in 1900, Daly was a witness before the Senate Committee investigating Clark's dealings in bribery, he

¹¹ **Congressional Record**, 56th Cong., 1st Sess., (Washington, 1900), 5531-5536.

¹² Personal Interview, Mr. William Scallon, November, 1948. Scallon was the Resident Counsel for the Amalgamated Copper Company in 1900-1902. Daly was the company's president though the actual power was H. H. Rogers of Standard Oil. Daly and Scallon were close friends. Scallon was in New York, at the Netherlands, when Daly died in December, 1900.

¹³ Reprinted in the **Anaconda Standard**, November 25, 1900.

¹⁴ This view was also set forth by several other papers. See **Butte Intermountain**, November 18, 1888; **Anaconda Review**, November 15, 1888. For the latter this represented a *volte face* (see footnote 4). James H. Mills, editor of the Deerlodge **New Northwest** artfully upheld the "normal incident" theory on November 10th. Mills was a Republican. His argument was that it was simply a Republican year, that a Republican president had been elected (Harrison) and both house and senate returned Republican majorities. The issue, he said, was the tariff and it was natural for a wool producing, copper mining area to support protection. He overlooked the fact that Clark was not a protectionist and that the six greatest wool producing counties returned large Democratic majorities (see official returns, **Butte Miner**, November 14, 1888).

was asked point blank if he had supported Clark or Carter in 1888. He said that at the beginning of the campaign he had supported Clark, but that later he had changed his mind. Then, he said, he took a "negative part" in it. He did not support Carter. He and his supporters consistently denied that coercion had been employed.²⁵

Whether Daly himself ever ordered coercion is a moot point. According to the available evidence Clark overdid his descriptions of abuses on election day. But the fact that there was coercion is incontrovertible. A week before election day messengers were sent to all of Daly's woods camps and those of the Montana Improvement Company with cases of whiskey and the admonition that the men were to cast their votes for Carter—or else.²⁶ Independent lumber outfits who had contracts with the Anaconda Company were told to see that their men voted for Carter, or their contracts would be canceled.²⁷ On the night before the election a giant torchlight parade was held in Anaconda and many a worried Democrat heard the chant from Daly's miners: "We're marching in Clark's parade tonight but we're voting for Carter tomorrow."²⁸

In any event, there is no doubt but that Clark's defeat in 1888 and Daly's part in it marked the beginning of the feud that was to develop into the "War of the Copper Kings." The question that remains is why Daly forsook Clark to support Carter.

Several stories have arisen purporting to answer the question. The first is the "option story." This story originated with one Ben E. Stack, an old-time Butte miner and friend of Daly. Stack dictated his story to the Montana State Historical Library from whence it found its way into numerous accounts.²⁹ The story is to the effect that when Daly first came to Butte in 1876, he took an option on a silver mine, the Alice, for the Salt

²⁵ United States Congress, "Report of the Committee on Privileges and Elections," *Senate Report No. 1052*, (Washington, 1900) Part III, Daly testimony, 2233-2234.

²⁶ See Peet Manuscript, *op. cit.*, I, 6.

²⁷ See Foor, *op. cit.*, 152. See also *Helena Record*, November 22, 1888; *Sen. Rep. 1052*, *loc. cit.*, Part III, 2068; Murphy, *op. cit.*, 20; Joaquin Miller, *History of Montana*, (Chicago, 1894), 592; Michael Leeson, *Progressive Men of Montana*, (Chicago, 1902), 353. All of the above references contain some incident illustrative of this type of coercion.

²⁸ See Peet Manuscript, I, 7. Peet quotes Judge D. M. Durfee whom he interviewed in 1938. Durfee was present in the Anaconda the night of the parade.

²⁹ See Glasscock, *op. cit.*, 64-65; Howard, *op. cit.*, 59; *Copper Camp*, WPA Writers Project, (New York, 1943), 34-35; C. P. Connolly, *The Devil Learns to Vote*, (New York, 1938), 95; Farrington, *op. cit.*, 32.

Lake firm he was representing.²⁰ He paid the owner of the Alice with a draft payable on the Clark-Larabie bank in Deer Lodge, a town some forty miles away, there being no bank in Butte at that time. But Clark refused to honor the draft because he too was interested in the Alice, and he told the owner of the Alice that Daly had no authority to buy mines. The owner returned to Daly who promptly gave him an express order through the Wells-Fargo office in Butte for payment. But Daly never forgot Clark's affront. The story would have Daly, who was an impulsive and hot tempered man, wait from 1876 to 1888 for his revenge. Further, there is no evidence aside from Stack's story that Clark was ever interested in the Alice mine. In addition, the fact that Daly was the accredited representative of the Salt Lake firm had been announced in the Butte papers.²¹ Clark, and everyone else, was aware of Daly's representative capacity and Clark, as a banker, would have been unlikely to refuse the draft. Daly would have been apt to deal through Wells-Fargo in Butte in the first place since Deer Lodge was forty miles way and would have necessitated a two or three-days trip for the owner of the Alice. As subsequent events unfold the "option story" will appear less and less creditable.

The second story of the feud's origin is the "water right" story which is to the effect that in 1883 when Daly was building the smelter in Anaconda, he was drawing his water from a stream on which a poor man held the water rights. The man tried in vain to get a settlement from Daly, and failing to do so, went to Clark who bought the water right and subsequently sold it to Daly for an outrageous sum. Presumably, Daly had to have the water. Again Daly is said to have waited until 1888 for his revenge.

The earliest traceable version of this story appeared in the **Butte Intermountain** in 1889, the year after the election.²² In this account, the story was set forth as a tale and nothing more. It was subsequently embellished with detail and, like the "option story," crept into many accounts as fact. The story is endorsed by Mrs. James W. Gerard, daughter of Marcus Daly, who wrote in 1948: "As for the Clark-Daly feud, it has been written up so many times that it is useless for me to repeat it. The cause of

²⁰ The firm was Walker Brothers, Miners & Bankers, Salt Lake City. Daly was then a roving prospector for this firm.

²¹ It was prominently announced in the **Butte Miner**, August 25, 1876. See also *ibid.*, September 29, 1876.

²² **Butte Intermountain**, September 24, 1889.

the feud was that Clark, in the temporary absence of my father, bought water interests essential to my father."²²

But there is substantial evidence to controvert the "water right" story. Letters from Daly to his land purchasing agent covering the period in question make no mention of any such difficulty.²³ County water right records are available and these records when plotted on a Department of Agriculture map of the area demonstrate that Clark had no water rights close either to Daly's smelter or his mines in Butte.²⁴ Thus the "water right" story fails to explain Daly's desertion of Clark in 1888.

Other stories which explain his action as revenge for slighting remarks Clark made about him or as the result merely of inherent antipathy, will not suffice as evidence.²⁵ Marcus Daly was a practical man motivated almost invariably by practical considerations. There was, in all probability a far more compelling motive for Daly's defection than has thus far been suggested.

Right after the election one Butte paper had asked the question: "What was the influence brought to bear on the mill men to make them vote solidly for Mr. Carter? We wonder if the people of Missoula County can answer this?"²⁶ No answer had been forthcoming from this query, but a good one existed.

Back in September, 1882, incorporation papers had been filed by the Montana Improvement Company.²⁷ The incorporators were Marcus Daly, A. B. Hammond, R. A. Eddy and several others. The purposes for which the company had been organized

²² Letter from Mrs. James W. Gerard to the present writer dated March 29, 1948. Mrs. Gerard is the wife of the former ambassador to Germany, James W. Gerard.

²³ These letters from Daly to Morgan Evans, his agent, are in the possession of Mrs. George Wellcome, Anaconda, daughter of Evans.

²⁴ See *Deerlodge New Northwest* under column headed "Real Estate Transfers," October 15, 1883 which sums up all the Evans transactions. See also water rights of the area compiled by Matt Kelly, County Commissioner, Anaconda, on file with the Daly Papers, Montana State Historical Library.

²⁵ Tending to cast doubt on both the "option" story and the "water right" story, moreover, is the fact that there is no good evidence of enmity between the men prior to November, 1888. On April 22, 1888 the *Butte Miner* carried a note to the effect that W. A. Clark had been the overnight guest of Marcus Daly in Anaconda. Mrs. George Wellcome of Anaconda, a neighbor of the Dalys who still lives across the street from what was the Daly mansion, remembers that at the opening of Daly's Montana Hotel in Anaconda, July 1, 1888, Clark and Daly appeared together and drank champagne together. As early as 1882, Daly had leased a silver stamp mill, the Dexter, from Clark (see *Butte Miner*, July 2, 1882). These details do not support the case for enmity prior to November, 1888.

²⁶ *Butte Miner*, November 14, 1888.

²⁷ See *New Northwest*, September 15, 1882.

were diverse and included such functions as constructing and equipping railroad lines, canals, locks, docks and water works; dealing in timber lands and the manufacture of lumber. Though it was not common knowledge at the time, the Northern Pacific railroad held \$1,000,100 of the company's total of \$2,000,000 in stock, one share more than one half.²⁰

The Montana Improvement Company had a twenty year contract with the railroad to supply the latter with all timber, lumber, cordwood and other materials made of timber between Miles City and Walla Walla Junction, a distance of 925 miles. In return the railroad hauled the company's lumber for less than that of other firms. Sometimes this rebate was as much as half the ordinary rate.²¹ The Improvement Company secured, by arrangement with the railroad, control of all timber on railroad lands along the 925 miles right of way. No adequate survey of this land had yet been made and the company made no attempt to distinguish between railroad and government sections. They assumed the right to drive poachers off government as well as railroad land and their mills were soon cutting timber indiscriminately along the right of way.

The Timber and Stone Act of 1878 had had as its aim the protection of settlers from such depredations.²² But the law presupposed a survey which had not been made and in other respects it did not fit the peculiar problems of such mining territories as Montana and Idaho in that, in substance, it forbade the cutting of timber for more than domestic use. However, from 1882 to 1885 Henry M. Teller had been Secretary of the Interior. He had, between 1876 and 1882, been the United States Senator from Colorado and he was very conscious of the needs of western territories especially as they concerned the development of mining communities. Teller saw fit to interpret the Timber and Stone Act very freely. His land commisisoner, N. C. McFarland, had taken note of the Montana Improvement Company and had instructed government agents in Montana to clamp down. But Montana's

²⁰ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Public Lands for the Year, 1885*, (Washington, 1885), 81-83.

²¹ *Decisions of the Department of the Interior Relating to Public Lands*, (Washington, 1886) vol. IV, July 1885-June 1886, 65. In this letter from Secretary Lamar to Commissioner Sparks, Lamar stated that he had been informed by special agent Prosser in Montana that the Improvement Company got a rate of \$23.00 per carload of lumber from Spokane Falls to Endicott, whereas the usual charge was \$47.00.

²² For a good discussion of the Timber and Stone Act see B. H. Hibbard, *History of the Public Land Policy*, (New York, 1924), 462-466. Also, R. T. Hill, *The Public Domain and Democracy*, (New York, 1910), 165.

delegate to Congress, Martin Maginnis, had complained to Teller. "Certainly," wrote Maginnis, "Congress never intended to overturn the ordinary processes of civilized society in the territories and make every man his own wood chopper or lumber maker." Teller then wrote to his Land Commissioner and his letter constituted a very liberal interpretation of the law, an interpretation under which the Montana Improvement Company got the green light. Special agents in the states and territories were instructed to conform to Teller's new instructions.²²

But in 1884, Grover Cleveland, a conservationist and a scrupulously honest man, became president. He appointed Lucius Q. C. Lamar as Secretary of the Interior and a Democratic Union veteran by the name of William Andrew Jackson Sparks to the position of Commissioner of Public Lands.²³ Sparks soon became aware of the activities of the Montana Improvement Company and in October, 1885, made a report to Lamar. He said that "depredations upon public timber are universal, flagrant and limitless" and he singled out the Montana Improvement Company for particular censure.²⁴ Suits, both civil and criminal, were soon instituted against the Montana Improvement Company and the Northern Pacific Railroad.

The Federal government's suits against these companies progressed slowly and met numerous obstacles.²⁵ By the Fall of 1888, however, several suits were pending and there was a definite threat that all lumbering would be seriously curtailed.

The fact that Marcus Daly was one of the original incorporators of the Montana Improvement Company was not mere happenstance. Daly needed a tremendous quantity of timber for his mines and smelter. He had a contract with various lumber companies to furnish him with 300,000 cords of wood for 1884.²⁶

²² The *Helena Herald*, June 15, 1882, published in its entirety the correspondence between Land Commissioner McFarland and Martin Maginnis and Secretary Teller. See also *Peet Manuscript*, II, 1-13, and VII, 1-5. For background concerning early difficulty between Montanans and the Federal government over the latter's restrictive policy see M. A. Leeson, (ed.), *History of Montana*, (Chicago, 1885) 707ff.

²³ For an excellent discussion of Commissioner Sparks' activities see John B. Rae, "Commissioner Sparks and The Railroad Land Grants," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXV, September, 1938.

²⁴ *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Public Lands for the Year 1885*, (Washington, 1885), 81.

²⁵ For blow by blow accounts of the suits see *Butte Intermountain*, December 22, 1886; *New Northwest*, December 31, 1886; *Helena Herald*, February 24, 1887; *Helena Independent*, March 31, 1887; *ibid.*, April 21, 1887; *Butte Miner*, December 22, 1887.

²⁶ *Rocky Mountain Husbandman*, October 16, 1884. At \$5.00 per cord this amounted to a million and a half dollars.

By 1888 he was using 40,000 feet of timber per day in the mine exclusive of the smelter." Daly's contracts for timber by 1888 ran well over a million dollars. He himself was not under indictment but Hammond and Eddy of the Montana Improvement Company were, and it had now withdrawn from the retail lumber field. Daly who bought most of Hammond and Eddy's lumber, made a not too successful effort to insure his lumber supply by instigating the new Miners' Lumber Company of which he had become president in January 1886, but with the axe of federal prosecution hanging over his head he was unable to feel secure." Furthermore, this was a particularly crucial year for the Anaconda Company. Daly was in the midst of a price war with Calumet and Hecla of Lake Superior and the price of copper had fallen from 18 cents a pound in 1882 to 10 cents in 1886." The Anaconda Company could only compete with the Lake Superior mines by cutting costs and increasing production. Without any cord wood, stulls and timber, the company stood to be ruined.

Daly had early gone on record in opposition to the suits. In September, 1885, he and Samuel T. Hauser, Territorial Governor, wired Montana's delegate to Congress, Joseph K. Toole, as follows: "We understand there is a move to stop cutting timber on public lands. If successful it will stop all the principal mines in this territory and throw out of employment thousands of people. The Companies we represent support directly and indirectly 10,000 people and we know this would be disastrous." "

It was at this juncture that politics entered the scene. Clark, a Democrat, was running for Congress. A. B. Hammond and R. A. Eddy of the Improvement Company were good Democrats. Hammond was Democratic National Committeeman for Montana. But there is evidence that both Hammond and Eddy, as well as T. F. Oakes, vice president of the Northern Pacific, were convinced that Harrison would win the presidential race and that both houses would return Republican majorities. E. L. Bonner, president of the Improvement Company, was reputed to have said to a friend: "We figured out that if Carter were elected, while he was only a delegate, nevertheless he could be of assistance to us, while if Harrison was elected and Clark went from Montana, we

¹¹ Butte Miner, January 1, 1888.

¹² Ibid., January 28, 1886.

¹³ The Engineering and Mining Journal, vol. 41, June 6, 1886, 407. The Anaconda-Lake Superior price war which depressed the world copper market from 1883 to 1890 is treated in Kenneth Ross Toole, *op. cit.* See also Peet Manuscript, III, 1-35.

¹⁴ The Hauser Papers (Case 6), Montana State Historical Library, Helena.

could only not expect any favors, but the probabilities were we would have an enemy."

The report of the above conversation appeared in the **Helena Independent** on October 11, 1900, twelve years after the event and it is admittedly a third-hand report, but some credence is lent it by the turn of events after Clark's defeat, as will be seen.

Hammond, Eddy, Bonner and Oakes, according to the report, fearful that a Democrat at a Republican court would be useless, and distrustful of Clark on other counts, went to Butte where they put the proposition before Daly. T. H. Carter, the young Republican candidate, had agreed that if elected with their support, he would do all in his power to quash the indictments against the Improvement Company and the railroad. This took place late in the campaign. Daly reluctantly agreed, swung his support from Clark to Carter, and Carter was elected.

Bearing in mind the somewhat dubious authority of the **Herald's** report, consider next the following events: Carter arrived in Washington and on March 4, 1889, was sworn in. On April 14, a news dispatch was received from Washington, D. C., to the effect that the new Secretary of the Interior, John W. Noble, in a letter to the Attorney General had requested that all actions against the Improvement Company and the Northern Pacific be suspended.⁴¹ In the latter part of April, Carter returned to Montana for a visit. While in Helena he told a reporter: "Secretary Noble, with whom we have to deal more intimately than any other Cabinet member, is a strong, intelligent, big hearted, brainy western man and under his administration . . . our people will certainly be exempted from the many petty annoyances with which they have been afflicted during the Sparks, Lamar and Vilas regimes."⁴²

Five months later official notice was received that all indictments had been dropped.⁴³

In 1888, A. L. Stone was the Anaconda Company's publicity agent. Stone, a competent journalist who subsequently became Dean of the Journalism School at Montana University, wrote with respect to the Montana Improvement Company, the Northern Pacific, the Anaconda Company and the Campaign of '88: "All these diverse elements had one common cause. Sparks threatened the defeat of the allies. . . . It would make a Republican out

⁴¹ **Butte Intermountain**, April 14, 1889.

⁴² **Helena Journal**, April 27, 1889.

⁴³ **Ibid.**, September 12, 1889.

of any Missourian, and it did. . . . I am certain that this was the first blow in the battle which lasted through a decade."⁴

Hammond, Eddy and Bonner never returned to the Democratic fold though great pressure to do so was put on them by Daly. In 1889, Daly became chairman of the State Democratic Central Committee and exhorted the lumbermen to return to the party. In spite of economic sanctions, they refused.⁴

T. H. Carter supported the lumbermen as delegate to Congress and when he subsequently became United States Senator, he continued to support their cause and that of the Northern Pacific Railroad.

Daly ultimately solved his lumber problem by establishing his own lumber department, purchasing thousands of railroad acres and setting up his own mills.

Though it cannot be categorically asserted that Daly supported Carter purely for economic reasons, there is, nonetheless, more than the suggestion of such a motive in the events just related.

Though Daly quickly made peace with his party, Clark was intransigent. Both remained in the Democratic party which, for twelve bitter years, was split into Clark and Daly factions with Republicans holding the balance of power and Montana holding the sack.

Clark, however, has almost universally been saddled with the odium of having initiated the whole business and this, particularly in view of the unflattering (though justified) opinion posterity holds concerning his subsequent career, is an additional reason to clear the record. Daly, not Clark, began the feud. He had his reasons and they were trenchant. But in this one instance, at least, Clark, biased as his subsequent political statements may have been, was probably correct when he said that Daly started the feud.

⁴Peet Manuscript, I, 8. An excerpt from a letter written by Stone to Peet, June 22, 1940.

⁴See letter from Daly to Hauser dated Sept. 22, 1889, Hauser Papers (Case 6), State Historical Library. In this letter Daly informed Hauser that he had cancelled his lumber contracts with Bonner, Hammond, et. al., because they were temporizing with him and were determined to stick with the Republican party. "Have contracted with outside mills for lumber already," wrote Daly, "and will go to any extremes to defeat him [Bonner] . . . I pleaded with them in every way it was possible but they at last got defiant and stated they had gone so far, to surrender now would lose them the respect of both parties."



TERRITORIAL GOLD MINES IN 1869

Introduction

Montana's nickname, "The Treasure State," had its origin in its mineral resources, especially the gold yield from placer and quartz mines. The extent to which gold mining was carried on in territorial Montana is clearly illustrated in the Montana Publishing Company's **Statistical Almanac for 1869 and Year Book of Facts, Showing the Mineral Resources of Montana**, Compiled by S. P. Bassett and Joseph Magee, Helena, 1869.

Since the almanac is now a rarity among sources of Montana history, and yet is so historically important and interesting, pages 17 to 36 of the text have been here reproduced. The intent is to make available this source of information, which retrieves the perspective of the beginning of pioneer mining. The almanac is a contemporary document of more than casual interest—it is a "gold mine" of fact, reminiscent of the pioneers and their mining ventures.—Editor.

MONTANA PLACER MINES

The placer mines of Montana, up to 1867, were almost the only source of the gold yield; and though quartz mining since that time has divided, and is rapidly absorbing the attention of domestic mining capital, the extensive placers of the Territory must, for some years to come, furnish the larger part of our mineral production. Large sections of the Territory that have been superficially and hastily prospected, affording gold just insufficient in the opinion of the prospector to yield him the remuneration of current wages with the facilities at hand for work, have been abandoned with scarcely an effort at development, and their dormant wealth, like the just dead, a joyful resurrection.

LEWIS AND CLARK COUNTY

An auriferous section as yet indefinite in extent, stretching easterly from the head of Ten Mile creek to the Missouri river, and northerly to the heads of Canyon creek and the Dearborn, though worked along the beds of many of the smaller streams, and on many of the bars contiguous to the gulches, any one familiar with the country and its mines cannot help but believe today contains more gold in its alluvium than has been taken in the past seven years from the whole Territory. This section, about 30 miles square, embraces the gold-producing as well as the agricultural portion of Lewis and Clark (formerly Edgerton)

county. Many of its placers have been worked almost continuously since 1865, and have yielded well with the ordinary processes of "stripping" and "drifting," but from diligent inquiry and personal observation we are convinced that all this ground will ultimately be profitably worked over by the more expeditious, economical, and better saving method of bed-rock flumes. In many of these gulches, and in other parts of the Territory, the bed-rock of a secondary auriferous outflow, lying above the primitive, marks the lower line of a deposit of considerable richness, while on the primitive bedrock, from 10 to 100 feet below, a second stratum of gravel is very frequently still more valuable. It is also frequently found that there are two distinct "streaks" or "leads," one on each side of the gulch, of about the same elevation. Now it often happens, in either case, that one or the other of these is worked out by the ordinary methods without disclosing the other. These deposits, together with the gold above the spiling and on imperfectly cleaned bed-rock in drifted ground; that contained in the strippings, where the top gravel is thrown back; the by no means unimportant item of losses by imperfect washing, and the combined waste of inexperienced carelessness and oversight, would richly repay the labors of enterprise in the reworking of these placers by the hydraulic process, which moves dirt at 20 instead of 80 cents per cubic yard, and saves 97 in lieu of 50 cents, of fine gold. In Ten Mile, Prickly Pear, Seven Mile, the lower part of Silver creek, Little Prickly Pear, and Canyon creek, no one has ever seen bed-rock, though enough prospecting has been done to warrant a firm conviction of the presence of profitable mines in each. In Canyon creek several drains are being run this winter, and a company is organized to prospect Seven Mile in the spring. Along the borders of the Prickly Pear, Ten Mile and Seven Mile valleys the foothills are auriferous, and will eventually be worked for their alluvial gold deposits. East of the Prickly Pear valley, and extending to the Missouri river, is a succession of low foot hills. Those next to the Prickly Pear have been but little prospected, though they are known to contain gold, and it is thought in paying quantities for hydraulic mining. On the Missouri, or east side of these hills, is French bar. At the confluence of the Missouri and Prickly Pear, 5 miles below, and opposite El Dorado bar, is Dana's bar. These placers are extensive, lie sufficiently high to afford abundant dump into either stream, and only await water to be made productive. The valley of the Prickly Pear, an oblong basin 12 by 15 miles, receives Silver creek from the northwest, Ten Mile and Seven Mile from the southwest and

Last Chance, Dry, and other gulches and the Prickly Pear from the south and southeast. This valley, aside from being one of the most picturesque and agriculturally productive in the Territory, is believed by many to be rich in gold. Tributaries of all its streams have been profitably worked, and a nugget weighing \$7.40 was picked up from the furrow on a ranch almost in the center of the valley and bordering on the Prickly Pear. In sinking wells on this valley, water is invariably found on reaching gravel, as well as gold—in light particles, but in very considerable numbers. No attempt has been made, to our knowledge, to determine whether the gold increases at a greater depth, and the land is being rapidly entered for agricultural purposes.

In Last Chance gulch—the site of Helena—where it spreads out upon the valley, a great deal of ground which was deemed worthless, is still being profitably worked by Chinese. The upper part of the gulch, near the canyon, and thence to the forks of Grizzly and Oro Fino, owing to its greater depth and the necessity of bed-rock drainage, has been worked slowly, and still contains much ground that was very profitably worked last season by drifting. About the center of this gulch, and just below Helena, lie the famous claims of Taylor, Thompson & Co., Getchell & Co., and the Idaho Co., Nos. 5, 6 and 7 below discovery. At but one other point in the Territory has such deep deposits of pay gravel thus far been found, varying from 20 to 40 feet depth, and extending indefinitely on both sides of the gulch. The first company employs steam hoisting works to raise the gravel to a convenient height for washing, and find current expenses, including water at 50 centers per inch, about 50 per cent of gross yield, while the other companies employ derricks run by horsepower, and expend a somewhat greater per cent. The gravel in this immense bed does not prospect largely, and would have been regarded by the Montana miner of 1865 as unprofitable ground, but its marked uniformity, and the practical facilities supplied for working it, return 30 to 50 per cent net, employing about 150 men and using about 175 inches of water. The first workings of these claims consisted of the washing of a superior stratum of gravel, separated from the lower one by a false or clay bed-rock from a few inches to 3 feet in thickness. The upper stratum has evidently been deposited by the water of Last Chance gulch; but from certain topographical facts, in connection with other facts disclosed by developments, the lower one has been supposed by a number of practical miners to be the deposit of some older stream running almost at right angles with Last Chance gulch. Acting upon this

presumption, shafts have been sunk on the east and west side, on the supposed prolongation of the line of the old channel. Water having been struck in large quantities in these shafts, a drain was commenced on Ten Mile last fall, to tap this channel at a depth to secure drainage. On running 1,500 feet a heavy vein of water was struck, but as yet the drain is very far from the point at which it was expected the channel would be intersected.

About half a mile above Helena, Last Chance forks, and from there up is known as Grizzly, the left hand tributary being Oro Fino. In the latter gulch placer mining has thus far been almost unremunerative, though gold has been found its entire length. Grizzly gulch has been profitably worked for the past four years, and several claims are still yielding handsomely. In the upper part of this gulch 3 bed-rock flumes were in operation last fall, but the great advantage of this system of mining is lost, or but partially realized, from a scarcity of water. The enterprise is being canvassed of bringing water from Ten Mile to the heads of Nelson, Grizzly, Oro Fino and Tucker gulches, but thus far has not assumed a tangible form. It is entirely feasible, as demonstrated by the level, and will doubtless be completed in the early future by Truett, Dahler and Atchison.

Dry gulch, which enters Prickly Pear valley just east of Helena, has been productive of gold for 3 miles. Tucker, a left hand tributary, also yielded well, and Dry, just below its confluence, still contains some remarkable auriferous deposits, resembling in many respects, and exceeding in depth and probably in richness, the deep claims on Last Chance. For a distance of 2,000 feet no bed-rock has been reached, though shafts have been sunk 80 feet through pay dirt, and no conception can be formed of its width at the present time. A bed-rock flume has been started at the canyon in Dry Gulch, but will suffer from the same inconvenience as those in Grizzly. Big Indian, Sky-High, Illinois, and other gulches lying east of Tucker, would also be worked to great advantage if water were made plentiful.

Nelson gulch, a tributary of Ten Mile, lies immediately west from Grizzly, and has been worked almost continuously since the spring of 1865. There are 2 bed-rock flumes in this gulch.

The placer mines at the head of Ten Mile are very extensive, and last season's operation with hydraulics demonstrated their richness. Three companies were entirely successful, while one working on Monitor gulch, a tributary, failed from a want of fall, dump and water. In Minne-ha-ha gulch, another tributary, a flume

was run to bed-rock last season by ground sluicing, and hydraulic works will be started this spring.

Greenhorn gulch, and Quartz gulch, a tributary, were the theater of active mining operations last year. In the lower part of the gulch, theretofore untested, drain ditches were being run last fall with most encouraging indications. Skelly gulch, lying north of Greenhorn, has been prospected more or less since the winter of 1864-65, and is still untested. Jeff Davis, a small tributary of Skelly, paid well. St. Louis gulch, being but from 6 to 10 feet from surface to bed-rock, was quickly worked out, but at a very heavy profit to claim-owners. Many of the flats and foot-hills have since been worked over with a fair return. These 3 gulches, at their junction, form Seven Mile.

The Silver creek bars were discovered early in 1864, and have since been continuously worked. There are now 4 drain ditches to bed rock in the creek with good prospects, and 2 bed-rock flumes in Ottaway gulch, a tributary, in successful operation. The bars on the main stream have been worked back in some instances as far as 500 yards without exhausting the pay, and present appearances would indicate that they will be worked for the next ten years. In Ottaway gulch the gold is principally confined to the bed of the creek.

Trinity and Piegan gulches lie west of Silver creek, the first 16 and the latter 25 miles from Helena. The bar at the mouth of Trinity has paid uniformly well, though the gulch is extremely spotted. The lower part of Piegan is worked by a bed-rock flume with water brought from Little Prickly Pear. The upper claims, though rich, are worked to a very great disadvantage with the natural water of the gulch.

Canyon creek, a very considerable northerly tributary of the Little Prickly Pear, seems to traverse a gold region throughout its whole length. Rocker gulch, near Georgetown, was an exceedingly rich little placer, and seems to have been the same character of deposit as those small rich sags in the Gravelly Range on the opposite side of the creek. Toward the head of the north fork of this gulch, the developments of last season uncovered deposits of auriferous gravel in Tar Head and Lop Ear gulches, which are likely to prove both rich and extensive, the gold bearing a marked resemblance to pumpkin seeds. Hydraulic mining was also carried on toward the head of the south fork, and it is said with profitable results. No less than 9 drain ditches are being run in Canyon

creek and tributaries this winter, with gratifying indications already obtained in three.

The approximate aggregate yield of placers for Lewis and Clark county, up to last fall, may be stated thus:

Last Chance	\$ 7,000,000
Grizzly gulch	5,000,000
Dry and Tucker gulches	3,000,000
Nelson gulch	2,500,000
Big Indian and small gulches east	200,000
Blue Cloud gulch	50,000
Greenhorn and Quartz gulches	75,000
Skelly bars, Jeff. Davis and St. Louis gulches	350,000
Silver creek and Ottaway gulch	370,000
Trinity gulch and bars and Piegan gulch	180,000
Canyon creek and tributaries	125,000
French and Prickly Pear bars	160,000
McClellan gulch	100,000
All other sources	250,000

Total yield of Lewis and Clark

(formerly Edgerton) county\$19,360,000

MEAGHER COUNTY

The first discovery of gold in Meagher county was at Confederate gulch, in the Belt Range, 35 miles from Helena and 6 from the Missouri river, in the winter of 1864-65. The following summer several attempts were made to reach bed-rock in the main gulch, but without success, owing to the depth, the amount of water, and the immense boulders that had to be encountered in the running of drains. In view of these difficulties it was at length determined to sink a prospect shaft to bed-rock, to be kept clear of water by means of a steam pump. This shaft was 30 feet square at the surface, decreasing below by the size of the cribbing timbers, and after immense labor reached bed-rock 10 feet square and 42 feet deep. It was credibly reported at the time that \$1,500 was taken from the bottom of the shaft, but on drifting across the gulch both ways and up stream it appeared as if this was the only deposit; and naturally coming to the conclusion that the gulch was very spotted, all further attempts to secure drainage of the main gulch were for the time abandoned. During the fall of 1865 and the winter of 1865-66, Montana bar, lying just above Diamond city, as well as the exceedingly rich deposit near the mouth of Montana gulch, were developed and caused no little excitement.

As high as \$180 to the pan was taken from the latter, though but 11 claims of 200 feet each were found to contain the streak. Montana bar lay at a sufficient elevation above the gulches to afford excellent facilities for washing. The alluvium of this bar prospected but slightly, the gold lying principally in the interstices of the shaly slate bed rock; but owing to the facilities for work, the flumes, on cleaning up, were found to be burdened with gold by the hundred weight, separated from the gravel at a very considerable working expense. In the summer of 1866, in the midst of the excitement occasioned by the heavy yield of Montana gulch and bar, a new enterprise was projected for opening up Confederate gulch by a drain ditch, and from this time till the spring of 1868 the work was never allowed to lag, although prosecuted under great inconveniences, not the least of which was a want of capital. Late in the spring of last year bed-rock was reached, and the enormous yield of \$180 to the pan in Montana gulch was forgotten in the excitement of the wonderful yield of over \$1,000 to a pan of gravel taken from bed-rock. After working about a month in the gulch, a heavy rain storm swept everything before it, filling the drain ditch and shafts with "tailings." Early in the fall the drain was reopened, and the average run of a day's sluicing on several of the claims opened was from \$3,000 to \$8,000. Good prospects have also been obtained 4 miles below, as well as in other parts of the gulch, and rains are being run and other developments made this winter preparatory to mining in the spring.

West of Confederate gulch a number of streams have their source in the same mountain spur, and run westerly into the Missouri. Among these we may mention Oregon, discovered in June, 1865; Kingsbury and Rattlesnake, tributaries of New York, discovered July, 1865; Clark's gulch and Park, tributary of Oregon, discovered in Oct., 1865, and New York gulch proper in which gold was discovered in Jan., 1866. The ground mined in this district ranged from 30 to 70 feet to bed-rock, and was mostly full of water from surface down, and owing to the flatness of the gulches and the consequent difficulties of obtaining so deep drainage, much of New York and Oregon gulches are still unworked. Cave gulch, running parallel with these, is characterized by the same general features, and all have been worked continuously and profitably since discovery.

In Magpie gulch some \$40,000 has been expended in prospecting and several drain ditches are being run, with the greatest depth 52 feet from the surface, and every indication of an early

realization of the hopes of the company. In Avalanche gulch two companies are running flumes for bed-rock, with most flattering indications. White's gulch, one of the earliest discoveries in this region, has yielded well on the bars since 1866. Although several attempts have been made to reach bed-rock in this gulch, they have thus far been without success, notwithstanding the encouragement of a nugget weighing \$97 being found in one of the drains. A company is energetically at work in the gulch this winter, and it is now confidently believed by those interested that bed-rock will be reached by spring.

Cement, Boulder, Johnny's and Spruce gulches, and Boulder and Wood's gulches and bars, as well as several gulches on the east side, including Thompson's in which 3 hydraulics were run last season, have been, and will yet be, prolific of abundant rewards to enterprise and muscle.

Total yield of Meagher county placers up to last fall:

Confederate gulch	\$ 700,000
Montana gulch	450,000
New York, Oregon gulches, with tributaries	1,539,200
Cave gulch	300,000
Wood's gulch and bars	80,000
Spruce gulch	30,000
White's gulch bars	225,000
Johnny's gulch	75,000
Boulder gulch and bars	250,000
Cement gulch	225,000
Small gulches east of range	100,000
Montana bar	2,000,000
Diamond, Slaughter, Pilgrim, Gold Hill bars	600,000
Foothill bars	225,000
Patch diggings	150,000

Total placer yield\$6,949,200

The above does not include the yield of El Dorado bar on the Missouri, even an approximate estimate of which, owing to conflicting reports, we find it impossible to make. That this immense placer will yet be made productive we have not the least doubt, but that it was so last season presumptive evidence denies, though we are loth to record the fact, in view of the large outlay incident to preparation for work in ditching.

DITCHES—The Boulder ditch, carrying water from Boulder creek to Confederate gulch, is five miles long, and was constructed

by Messrs. McGregor, Metcalf and Spiegel at an expense of \$80,000. Of this amount \$40,000 was for the single item of iron pipe, of which 1,716 feet, $\frac{5}{8}$ inch in thickness, is used as an inverted siphon in fluming Confederate gulch so as to give hydraulic pressure on the opposite bars. El Dorado ditch carries 1,000 inches of water from Trout creek to El Dorado bar, $4\frac{3}{4}$ miles, with 19,800 feet of fluming—one span across Soup creek, 400 feet long, being 152 feet high—at an expense of \$103,000. Various other ditches, marked by no striking peculiarity, will be found in the table of ditches.

DEER LODGE COUNTY

It has been stated elsewhere that "Benetsee," or "Penetsy," as early as 1852, the Stuart brothers and party as early as 1858, and "Gold Tom" as early as 1860, had discovered gold at Gold creek in this county; but not till last season, by means of facilities afforded by abundance of water secured by ditching, were these mines properly or profitably worked. It was the theater of active mining operations last season, eight hydraulics being constantly and profitably at work. These mines will continue to yield largely for a number of years to come, with an immense area of country in the neighborhood still open to the enterprising and determined prospector.

The mines at Silver Bow, during the fall of 1864, were regarded as the rival of Last Chance; but the difficulty of securing drainage retarded operations and partially destroyed confidence. The energy of the Philadelphia company finally triumphed over all difficulties, however, and the mines proved to be both rich and extensive. These mines extend over an area of 12 miles by 4, and pay is found in most instances as high as water for mining can be carried. In order to facilitate mining operations by an abundant supply of water, ditches had to be constructed, and fortunately the configuration of the country afforded opportunity of turning the head waters of the Boulder from Divide creek into Silver Bow, a tributary of the Hell Gate—thus turning waters which formerly flowed into the Gulf of Mexico through the Missouri, into the Pacific ocean through the Columbia. This was seized upon by the miners, and Barnard's and Humphrey & Allison's ditches now furnish all the available water to the mines.

In the fall of 1864 the mines at German gulch were discovered by a small party returning from Kootenair, among whom were Fred Brown and Ed Alfield. About 20 men worked in the gulch the first fall, realizing about \$7 a day to the hand; 1865, 80 men,

\$6; 1866, 50 men, \$7; 1867, 60 men, \$6; 1868, 60 men, \$8. In February of 1865 the Liberia district was discovered in the same gulch, which yielded as follows: In 1866, 600 men worked in the mines at an average of \$15 a day to the hand; in 1867, 400 men, \$18; 1868, 175 men, 12. A calculation based upon these figures, allowing 7 months work of 26 days, gives \$3,536,260 as the total yield of the gulch and \$458,540 for last year. There are now 4 flumes in the old district and 6 in the new, with water ditches carrying over 2,000 inches.

Ophir gulch was discovered in 1865, by Hagle, Bratton, Pemberton and others. The town of Blackfoot is situated on this gulch, and was located in May, 1865. Carpenter's gulch (a tributary of Ophir) and bar were discovered in June, 1865. The gulch is 8 miles long. Carpenter's bar is estimated to have yielded \$1,000,000, and the contiguous placers quite as much more up to last fall. Ed Smith & Co.'s bed-rock flume, 3 miles below the town of Blackfoot, on Ophir gulch, was begun in June, 1866. It has a 30-inch bottom, is now one mile in length and controls the gulch for 4 miles. Its present cost is \$20,000. Thos. E. Pounds & Co.'s bed-rock flume, in Carpenter's gulch, was started in September, 1866, has a 26-inch bottom, and is intended to work the gulch for 4 miles, being now one mile in length, with a cost of \$14,000.

McClellan and Lincoln gulches, lying north of Blackfoot city, and tributaries of the Big Blackfoot, have been exceedingly rich gulches, yielding from \$10,000 to \$16,000 to the claim. The former was discovered in 1865 and the latter in 1866; and though they have been worked continuously ever since, they are still yielding largely, with much ground unopened.

Westerly from Blackfoot city lie Washington, Jefferson, Bear, Elk, Deep, and other important gulches, which have been, and are still being, worked to great profit by a persistent and thrifty class of miners, who have stuck to that region in spite of early discouragements, and are reaping golden harvests.

Highland, lying a few miles east of Silver Bow and claimed by Deer Lodge county, though with a questionable title, is yet a district worthy of contention. It was discovered in July, 1866, and at once took a very high position in public estimation, the main gulch, as well as several tributaries, proving very rich. During 1868 about 250 men were employed in the camp, about one-half of whom were placer mining, and the balance engaged in working or developing quartz. The estimated yield for last year was \$100,000; for 1867, 170,000; for the fall of 1866, \$60,000. The bed-rock

flume of Steel, Willis & Co., was run in the fall of 1867, and since that time has paid its owners a very handsome profit. The Red Mountain bed-rock flume is now in course of construction, with 600 feet of 20-inch flume down, on a grade of 33 inches to 100 feet. The Company owns 38,000 feet of ground in the gulch, with contiguous bars, which have never been worked on account of the impossibility of draining it through a bed of quick-sand. Ously & Carver have 400 feet of 16-inch flume down, for the purpose of reworking ground in the upper part of the gulch.

Henderson gulch and bar was discovered September 16, 1865, by Joe Henderson and party. In 1866 about 75 men worked in the gulch, and though but few claims were opened, \$30,000 was realized. In 1867, 175 men were employed, with a yield of \$120,000. In 1868 about 125 miners were at work on the gulch and bars, and took out about \$100,000. By a system of ditching abundant water is supplied. The mines are now well opened, and are likely to last for the next 10 years.

Uncle Ben's gulch, 20 miles southwest of Deer Lodge City, was discovered last season, and is reported to have yielded well, while the Prairie diggings, 2 miles southwest of Silver Bow, and Harvey creek, 18 miles above Henderson, are reported rich, though we have no positive data on their yield.

Snow Shoe, Deadwood, and a cluster of small gulches some 19 miles west from Helena, have been very rich, but worked to a very great disadvantage, owing to a scarcity of water, and would yet pay largely with proper facilities for working.

Approximate total yield of Deer Lodge county, \$13,250,000.

MADISON COUNTY

Alder gulch was discovered on the 2nd of June, 1863, a "stampede" of over 200 men came in from Bannock on the 6th and 7th. The Fairweather district was organized, and active mining was commenced. During 1863-64-65 this gulch was a perfect hive of industry, which was rewarded with abundant returns of wealth. The area of development rapidly extended, and the gulch was soon found to pay largely from its head almost to its confluence with the Passamari, a distance of 16 miles. It may be safely estimated that up to the fall of 1866, \$30,000,000 was taken from this single gulch, and work in some portions has been continuous ever since, with very satisfactory returns. The early systems of stripping and shoveling from the bed-rock, and drifting, are now nearly obsolete in Alder, giving way to more rapid and economical methods. Several bed-rock flumes have been

started to work portions of the gulch, and, though laboring under many disadvantages, are still far in advance of the old system—or, rather, want of it. In order to facilitate operations, the subject of bringing in the head waters of the Madison by a ditch some 30 miles in length, at a cost of \$75,000 to \$125,000 has been canvassed, and the difficulty of raising that amount of money is the only obstacle, as surveys have proven its entire practicability, and no one who has examined the subject doubts that it would be a paying investment. Properly constructed and suitably large bed-rock flumes will, at no distant day, sweep Alder, Last Chance and Confederate with an avalanche of artificially supplied water, and return millions of dollars to the enterprise. King & Gillete's flume, in the latter gulch, now very far advanced and being vigorously prosecuted, will answer every purpose for the upper part of Confederate when a sufficient supply of water is obtained.

In Ramshorn gulch, north of Alder, rich deposits of gravel have been discovered beneath the secondary bed-rock to which the gulch was originally worked, and no doubt exists that they are extensive. This gulch was quite productive on first working, and will probably prove so in the future.

Bivins' gulch has also been profitably worked a large portion of its length, and we understand is still productive.

Norwegian gulch and Washington bar, in the Hot Springs district, were discovered in March, 1864, and have been moderately remunerative, though the yield for 1868 probably did not exceed \$20,000.

Wigwam gulch, a late discovery and a tributary of Alder, is reported to have been very productive during the past year.

There were 31 bed-rock flumes vigorously and profitably worked in this county last season, and that of Hall & Southmayde, at Summit, cleared \$84,000. Most of these flumes have the advantage of hydraulics, though usually with light pressure.

Among other prospecting enterprises, that of testing Rochester gulch is being actively prosecuted this winter.

The total yield of Madison county placers up to last fall, certainly reached \$40,000,000.

This county has few ditches of importance, though the aggregate of small ditches for mining and irrigation is fully 90 miles.

BEAVER HEAD COUNTY

The first discovery of placer mines in this county was at Willard's (or Grasshopper) creek, near the site of the present town

of Bannock, in 1862. During that fall and the early spring of 1863, these were the only productive mines in the Territory. The early mining here was mostly confined to the bars contiguous to the creek, but about 200 feet of the gulch, in which water was not troublesome on bed-rock, having yet been worked. Although mining has been continuous here since discovery, the yield of last season exceeded any previous one, excepting the fall of 1862 and spring of 1863. The reason for this increase of production is found in the facilities for hydraulic mining, secured by ditching, and through the agency of water, with a good pressure, the hills are literally melting before the pipe. Even at the very rapid rate at which ground may be worked by this means, the placer mines at Bannock, with still increasing yield, will be worked for the next 7 to 10 years, continuously—and whether they will last longer, depends upon developments yet to be made. Last year's production of these mines was \$250,000, and the total yield of the gulch up to last fall was not less than \$2,000,000. Below the canyon, in the creek, a drain ditch was started in 1867, and is still being run without bed-rock, having attained a depth of 15 feet, bed-rock will probably be reached this spring; and as high as \$90 to the pan having been taken from small cuts sunk and drained by belt pumps, gratifying results may be confidently anticipated.

Horse Prairie was discovered in 1863, and has produced an average of about \$25,000 a year up to last season, when, by reason of abundance of water secured by ditching, the camp produced over \$100,000, with about 75 men employed. The total yield of Horse Prairie gulch and bars may be safely estimated at \$225,000.

These are the only placer mines of consequence in Beaver Head county, though as much as \$20,000 has been obtained from patch diggings, which places the total placer yield of Beaver Head county at \$2,245,000.

JEFFERSON COUNTY

The earliest discovery of placers in this county were on the Prickly Pear and Boulder. In 1864 considerable prospecting was done in the Boulder region, and it has had its annual "stampedes" ever since, but with the exception of the Old Bar, some 8 miles above the Boulder crossing, the main stream has paid but little, the gold in the bars worked being very unevenly distributed. Between the Old Bar and the crossing preparations have been made for extensive work this summer.

Basin creek, a northerly head tributary of the Boulder, lying just south of the head of Ten Mile, although discovered in 1865, attracted no attention and was but little worked up to last season, when two bed-rock flumes were profitably worked. It is expected that these mines will yield largely for 1869. Other small gulches in the neighborhood were prospected last fall, and will no doubt be found productive, with proper facilities.

In Davis' district, just below the mouth of the Boulder, on the Jefferson, rich and extensive bars have been discovered, and were profitably worked last season with water raised from the Jefferson by means of water wheels run by the current of the stream, working belt, bucket or Chinese pumps.

Indian creek, 35 miles east of Helena, was discovered in 1866, and attracted considerable attention, but produced very little that season. In the upper end of the gulch, in which bed-rock has never been reached, drain ditches are being run this winter. The extensive bars and dry gulches lying on the west side of Indian creek and in the neighborhood of Springville, were discovered in 1867, and have been profitably mined ever since. The great inconvenience in this district is the scarcity of water, which has been but partially overcome by ditching.

The Radersburg, or Crow creek diggings, lying 7 miles east of Indian creek, were discovered in 1867, and were profitably worked last year. These mines consist of extensive flats and bars, which will last for many years; though they will have to be worked with system to be made profitable, as the mines are so flat as to afford poor facilities for running off the gravel, and a very small proportion of the ground is sufficiently rich to pay for "stripping" and shoveling. Wilson's creek, one of the head tributaries of Crow creek, was discovered last spring, and paid well during the season.

The Pipestone mines were discovered in 1864, and worked in 1865 with good profit to some of the miners. Later, bed-rock flumes, with hydraulic pressure, were introduced, and the gulch was made very generally productive.

The total yield of Jefferson county placers may be estimated at \$4,500,000.

TOTAL PLACER YIELD

The figures heretofore given, which, where there was any doubt, have been placed at the lowest estimate, aggregate:

Lewis and Clark county	\$19,360,000
Meagher county	6,949,200
Deer Lodge county	13,250,000
Madison county	40,000,000
Beaver Head county	2,245,000
Jefferson county	4,500,000
Emigrant gulch, on Yellowstone, and bars	80,000

Approximate total yield of Montana placers ..\$86,384,200

It is known that we have over 287 miles of ditches, with 77,848 feet of fluming, carrying 25,370 inches of water at a cost of \$806,500. Besides these, there are probably 1,000 miles of small ditches for mining and irrigation.

* * *

MONTANA QUARTZ MINES

That quartz mining in Montana may be regarded as a wide and permanent field for remunerative employment of capital and labor, is a problem fully solved by the experience of the past two years—if, indeed, such evidence were wanting to the experienced miner. The total number of stamps in the Territory at the present time is about 500, of which some 150 only were profitably employed at the beginning of 1868. By July these had increased to about 225 by the starting of new mills and the resumption of work by old ones, and by the middle of December not less than 275 stamps were in successful operation. The failures through the disastrous policy of the past have furnished experience that will enable the practical miner to avoid like errors in the future, while even to the inexperienced operator they furnish the landmarks that designate the channel to success. A better system is being inaugurated since the knowledge has been bought at heavy expense of time and money, that a lode should be so far developed before machinery is erected as to furnish the strongest presumptive evidence of permanency and pay. A large proportion of the machinery early brought into the Territory was of very inferior character, better adapted to crush the hopes of owners than ore, as proven by practice. Ten stamps, with good and proper power and appliances for working free gold ores, may be put up and in running order in Montana at present rates for from \$2,000 to \$2,500 per stamp; and a yield of from \$15 to \$18 in gold to the ton by the stamp process, will pay from 30 to 60 per cent profit according to the facilities for obtaining ore, and other gen-

eral conditions which experience has taught should have great weight in forming estimates.

Another fact which the past has fully demonstrated, is that experience is essential to success; and no amount of inductive theories and abstract learning can compensate for practical knowledge—of which science itself is but the cumulative and cumulating aggregate. Eastern capital brought into the Territory and invested or controlled by inexperienced men, has in most cases proven at present non-productive, and in some a total loss; but in every instance where judgment has been aided by practical science, and experience has directed both, gratifying results have been realized, which are but demonstrations of future success. We do not wish to be classed among those inveighors against mining knowledge derived from books, but this is but the superstructure, which requires a solid, practical foundation of experience.

For the amount of investment and development, vein mining in Montana makes a better showing in numbers, permanency and richness of mines, than any quartz region heretofore opened; and every year is adding new evidences establishing this fact, and new fields for capital and labor in the development of lodes already recorded and the discovery of new ones.

Some 12,000 lodes have been recorded in the Territory. Why, it may be asked, have so few been worked? To which we reply, want of capital. But this state of things is changing. Home capital is being directed in this channel, and foreign capitalists are finding their way to Montana, investments are being made, and guided by the light of experience here and elsewhere, in most instances developments promise abundant success.

The Whitlatch Union vein, running almost at right angles with, and crossing near their heads, the placer gulches in the immediate neighborhood of Helena, is better opened and more thoroughly developed than any other in the Territory, and for that reason deserves a fuller description. The country rock is granite. The lode was discovered in the winter of 1864, a short distance south of a wide limestone belt, dipping about 40 degrees toward the point where the two formations join, with a general course of 84 degrees, 24 min. east, as shown by surveys for patent. The lode is from 2 to 12 feet wide, with an average of 4 to 5 feet. The vein-stone is quartz near the surface, assuming the character of a quartziferous syenite in the lower levels. Its metallic combinations, as stated by W. S. Keyes, M. E., in his report for 1868 to the Secretary of the Interior on the mines and mining of Montana, is

iron and copper pyrites, tellurium, sulphate and metallic gold, with carbonate and silicate of copper. Discovery claim and No. 1, with westerly half of No. 2, and No. 5 easterly is owned by the Whitlatch Union Mining Co., with a shaft 200 feet deep; the east half of No. 2 east and undivided half of No. 4 east is owned by the Mansfield & Hodson Mining Co.; No. 3 east and west, and an undivided half of No. 4 west is owned by the Columbia Mining Co., with a shaft 340 feet deep; No. 1 west is owned by the "I X-L" Mining Co., with a shaft 380 feet deep; No. 2 and 4 west, and the east half of No. 5 west is owned by the National Mining and Exploration Co., with a shaft 345 feet deep. The ownership of the west half of No. 5 west is in litigation. Adjoining the 2,200 feet of the original mine westerly, lies the Owyhe, or Whitlatch & Parkinson Mining Co.'s ground, on which a shaft is sunk to the depth of 140 feet, and on which work is being vigorously prosecuted with about the same general indications as the original discovery. East of the original claim both the Gonu and Walrussia locations claim to be on the Whitlatch Union vein, though it is probable that one is on the McIntyre vein, running parallel, and some 100 feet north of the Union. The Whitlatch Union vein employs 3 proprietary mills aggregating 74 stamps, and occasionally 2 custom mills of 10 stamps each, and, directly or indirectly, from 800 to 1,000 men. Although 300 tons of selected ore from this mine yielded \$80 per ton, from \$20 to \$25, coin, to the ton, is about its average. Work on the vein has been connected by tunnels for a distance of 1,300 feet, which secures good ventilation. Near the surface several faults occur, but in the lower levels the vein is strong and regular, and assumes a more constant dip. While it is impossible, owing to the reticence of owners, to give an exact statement, we have evidence that the mine has yielded over \$1,000,000 in the past 3 years.

Still west of the Owyhe, or Whitlatch & Parkinson lode, and on the opposite side of Grizzly gulch, is the Park lode, owned principally by Mr. Jas. W. Whitlatch. The metallic properties of this ore are quite different from that of the Union; and though large quantities of surface ore have been worked by the simple stamp process, deeper development disclosed a body of ore so charged with copper pyrites that the erection of chlorination works for its reduction is being considered by Mr. W. Several shafts and inclines have been run on this lode, and the work of development is still actively prosecuted.

This belt of lodes extends westerly across Grizzly, Nelson and Colorado gulches, and easterly across Oro Fino, Dry, Tucker, and

Big Indian gulches—a distance of at least 8 miles. Along this line, a short distance north and south of it, numerous discoveries have been staked and recorded showing most favorable surface indications, but so little development has been made as to demand no special notice. Most prominent among these are the Granite Mountain, Gold Hill, Hidden Treasure.

In Blue Cloud gulch, 10 miles west of Helena, Comer & Co.'s mill has been working successfully on ore from the Blue Cloud lode, and on Greenhorn gulch, 2 miles further west, the Plymouth Mining Co., are erecting, and will soon have running, a 10 stamp mill to work ore from the War Eagle lode. There are numerous veins in this neighborhood worthy of development.

On Rock, or Ruby creek, at the head of Ten Mile, the Allen Mining Co., of St. Louis, last year erected a 10 stamp mill to work ore from the Henry Allen lode. At the surface this lode is over 40 feet wide, and prospects well in free gold. Under the impression that this would be its continuous character, machinery was erected without development. A very short period of actual working proved the metallic properties of the lode to predominate in silver, and milling was suspended to await the arrival of amalgamating pans. Within an area of 3 miles north and east from this mill, there are probably 500 lodes staked and recorded, which show excellent surface indications, but developments are slight. The formation is granite, and lying against the main Rocky Mountain range, without evidence of slides or other disturbance, the indications and general conditions are favorable for rapid, easy and sure development into a rich and permanently productive quartz mining district. Among the most noted of these lodes are the Lee mountain, Canyon, Henry Allen, Stanton, Douglas, Coyne, and others. These lodes are principally silver, the vein matter being in some instances almost entirely argentiferous galena, with a very slight mixture of silicate. From several assays as high as \$400 to the ton has been obtained.

Lying southeast from this district, and some 16 miles distant is the cluster of lodes in the neighborhood of Beavertown and Jefferson. Some of these lodes were the earliest discoveries in this region, and at first created considerable excitement. Furnaces have been erected on two lodes in this district—the Gregory and Alta. Although a great deal of work was done on the first lode, which developed well, and much money expended in smelting experiments, operations have been abandoned for the present. The New Jersey G. & S. Mining Co.'s mill (Chilian mills) has

worked quite steadily on ore from the Dakota and Cherokee lodes, while the Montana Mineral Land G. and S. Mining Co.'s mill has worked exclusively from the Dakota, with a return from both mills for the season of something over \$100,000. The Butterfield & Hopkins mill has lain idle. A furnace was started last fall at Bannock by Wm. H. Duryer & Co., under the superintendence of Mr. Rompf, which was running at last accounts with entire success.

At Argenta, in 1866, the St. Louis and Mon. G. & S. Mining Co., erected a large cupola German furnace, by which a considerable amount of silver was extracted from the rich lodes of that district, principal among which were the Legal Tender, Tuscarora, Stapelton, and Anaconda. The yield did not, however, leave a margin of profit at prevalent rates of material and labor, and operations were suspended. In 1867 Essler erected a furnace, which was put up and worked under the personal supervision of Mr. P. F. Rompf, a graduate of the Freiburg mining school, and a man of much practical experience. Shipments to Virginia of as high as 500 pounds of silver at a time were reported soon after the furnace started—though its closing soon after left a doubt in the public mind as to the degree of success attained. It is claimed, however, by those who are familiar with the matter, that Mr. Essler netted over \$8,000 in the short time his furnace was in operation, and that he would soon have been able to settle his old liabilities had not been for the hurry of creditors, who attached, but whose experience was insufficient to run the works with a profit, and operations were stopped. The furnace was recently started again, but with what result is not known. Messrs. Tootle, Leach & Co., have erected a double stack cupola furnace at this place, which is running 18 to 20 pounds of silver bullion per day, at a cost of \$125. From tests made, the Tuscarora runs \$40 and the Stapleton \$100 per ton. The Huron Mining Co., have \$80,000 worth of idle machinery in this district, awaiting action of courts.

Quartz operations in New York gulch and the Belt Range Mining district, are at a standstill. The arrastras and mills put up there have either been removed or are idle, owing to difficulties met with in development by the pinching out of veins, and the presence of properties in the ores that interfere with ready amalgamation. Many of these lodes are very rich, and are deserving of deeper development.

Although no machinery has thus far been erected in Confederate gulch, owing to the sinking of the steamer on which the McGregor Mining Co.'s mill was shipped last season, develop-

ment is being pushed forward with commendable spirit, both by tunnels and shafts, and many of the lodes are showing up most encouragingly. The mill formerly standing in Clark's gulch has been removed to Confederate and will be in operation this spring, while a 20 stamp mill with 60 horse power engine is contracted for delivery on the early boats. This mill is for the North Am. Min. Co., of Confederate, and Eagle Works, Chicago, manufactory.

A 30 stamp mill will be put up on McClellan (or Mitchell's) gulch, 12 miles east of Helena, early next spring, having arrived from Benton late last fall.

There are numerous lodes in the neighborhood of Radersburg and Springville, Jefferson county, which, though undeveloped are said to present unusually rich surface indications.

Quartz mining in the Summit district, 8 miles south of Virginia city, has been attended with many drawbacks, but success is now well assured. Two fine stone and 2 frame mills have been erected, the paying quality of the ores has been demonstrated and development is now promising permanency and increasing richness. Fairweather district, also in Alder gulch, contains some very rich lodes, among which the Alameda, and the Jewel House, a spur of the same, run as high as \$500 in gold and silver to the ton. There are numerous other lodes in this region that promise well when properly opened. A belt of silver lodes crosses the head of Brown's gulch, which have attracted much attention recently, and are unquestionably rich. Nearer its confluence with Alder, the lodes predominate in gold. When these districts are properly opened they will undoubtedly compare favorably with any in the Territory.

Mill creek district, 20 miles from Virginia, is a quartz district of considerable reputation, and is rich in gold-bearing quartz.

In the Hot Springs, or Sterling district, 7 mills have been erected, at an aggregate cost of nearly \$200,000; and in few districts in the Territory do such flattering prospects present themselves for extensive and successful quartz mining. The extent and richness of the surface ores was of a character here, as in other parts, to induce the hasty erection of machinery by capitalists, who were too eager for large returns; and as partial development did not meet their wild expectations, a temporary suspension of operation was the result. The idea of still deeper development of the lodes is now being generally and favorably entertained, and will, doubtless, be carried into execution. The lodes thus far worked are the Red Bluff, with a shaft sunk 125 feet and yielding

\$15 per ton; Convoy, 50 feet, \$10; Hendricks, 127 feet, \$20; Hall & Spaulding, 100 feet, \$18; Rising Sun, owned by R. D. & J. W. Alexander, 75 feet, \$19 per ton. Other lodes in the district, as the Orion, Silver Star, Thermopylae, and others, also give most encouraging surface indications, and the district is now classed among the most promising in the Territory.

In the Highland district, some 70 miles south of Helena, there has been about 100 lodes located. The Ballarat tunnel is probably one of the most stupendous undertakings in the Territory. It is now over 500 feet long, is within a few feet of the lode, and will strike it 189 feet from the surface, after which it will be continued 450 feet further to the Forest Queen lode. Near the mouth of this tunnel the Highland G. Min. Co., has recently erected a 24-stamp mill with 2 Wheeler pans, which, under the superintendence of Prof. Swallow, has made a very satisfactory run. The Only Chance tunnel strikes the lode 125 feet deep. Tunnels are now being run on the Nevins and Myers & Thompson lodes—the former to be 450 feet long, striking the lode 175 feet deep. The latter has but 75 feet to run, and when completed will be 235 feet long, striking the vein 125 feet from the surface. A tunnel is also being run to strike the Wilber lode 125 feet deep. Messrs. Flowers, Nevins & Co., have 3 arrastras, which have been working decomposed quartz from the Nevins and Only Chance lodes, which have yielded about \$80 to the ton, the gold being 972 fine.

There is a rich and extensive quartz district in the neighborhood of Silver Bow and the Butte, which thus far failed to attract machinery, other than a smelter erected by Hendrie & Postlewait to reduce the surface carbonates of copper on the Parrot, and other lodes in that neighborhood. This furnace is now idle, though we were informed that another will be erected in the spring in the same district, to work like ores.

In the Silver Star district, 9 miles above the Jefferson bridge, and one the west side of that stream, the Stevens & Trivitt and Everett mills, working from the Iron Rod and Green Campbell lodes, have run almost continuously during the past season, and with most gratifying results. Both lodes are developing well, though the Iron Rod has the advantage in being free from water in the lowest level reached—over 200 feet. This, and Rochester district, but a few miles west, together with Highland, 14 miles give every promise of being among the very best quartz districts, not only in Montana, but in the world. Mr. Hendrie, of the Helena foundry, erected a 10-stamp mill in Rochester district last fall,

to work ore from the Watseka lode, and in 6 weeks the net proceeds had paid all expenses of machinery and development. Wann's mill, in the same district, will be running by the middle of January, from which a like return may be confidently expected.

The only silver amalgamating mill in the Territory—if we except the Swallow mill, which is prepared to run one battery upon amalgamable silver ores—is the James Stuart, at Philipsburg, in the Flint Creek district. The mill has run upon the Comanche, Poor Mans Joy, Hope, Rumley & Bugher, and other lodes, with a yield as high as \$100 to the ton at an expense of less than \$14. The ores of this district are richer in silver than those of any other district yet opened in the Territory, specimens of native, ruby and horn silver frequently running from 60 to 80 per cent. The country rock, however, is lime stone, and we know of but one instance in which the vein has been followed into the primitive formation. If other developments shall meet with like results without "faults," and the ore, as in this instance, retains its character after the change, the wealth of this district is beyond computation, containing, as it does when these conditions are proven, at least 20 "Comstocks."

In the Georgetown district, 12 miles from Philipsburg, 2 mills were erected last season for the working of gold ores; but developments failed to meet expectations, and the mills are idle.

At Cable city, 15 miles from Philipsburg, the Nowlan mill has been running continuously the past season on ore from the Atlantic Cable lode, yielding as high as \$8,000 per week. This lode is being rapidly developed, and gives every evidence of continued richness and permanency of vein. The Hanauer mill, working on ore from the Thomas lode, has, for some cause connected with its development, been put partially successful.

The Muscleshell region, east of the Belt Range, is famous for its oxide, and other forms of copper ore, containing as high as 40 to 70 per cent of that metal. Silver ore of great richness is also reported to have been found in this district.

In the Deadwood district, 19 miles west from Helena, is some of the richest surface gold quartz ever found in any country. Much work has been done to define the veins, or vein, from which this proceeds, and it thought the Esmeralda lode is now between permanent walls. A tunnel is being run by Dr. Parker & Co., to intersect the vein at a considerable depth, which will probably be finished by this fall. A nugget weighing over \$3,000 in gold was found in the gulch just below this lode, and the decomposed quartz

in which it was imbedded clearly connects its matrix with the Esmeralda vein.

Veins of gold, silver, copper, lead and iron are constantly being discovered, together with the other metals usually associated with these. At various points in the Territory cinnabar (red sulphuret of mercury or quicksilver) and "float" tin have been found in such quantities as to forcibly suggest the presence of strong veins of these valuable ores, while platina, for the first time recorded, has been found in its original matrix or ore.

SHIPMENTS OF ORE

In order to arrive at an absolute test of the value of ores, or to obtain the proper formula for their reduction from actual experiment, the following shipments have been made to the East and to Europe: From the Lee Mountain lode, on Ten Mile, 1,000 lbs. of argentiferous and auriferous galena, by T. E. & D. G. Tutt; from Silver Bow, by Chas. Hendrie, 11-2 tons of block copper, supposed to contain large per cent of gold; 20 tons from the Poor Man's Joy lode, at Philipsburg, by Cole Saunders. Cost of shipment per ton: To Ft. Benton, \$15; St. Louis, \$15; to the seaboard, \$10; to the East or foreign ports, \$10—making \$55 currency per ton per shipment.

TOTAL YIELD

From Quartz	\$ 6,000,000
From Placers	86,384,200
Total gold and silver yield of Montana Territory to 1869	\$92,384,200

COAL

Although very little attention has been paid to this article in the Territory, it is known to exist in numerous localities, and will, doubtless, be found in many more when the exhausting effect of increase of population and machinery shall begin to be felt on our at present very abundant supply of timber. Near Bozeman, on the Yellowstone, a very fine vein of bituminous coal, 2 feet in thickness, has been developed. Just above Benton, on the banks of the Missouri, a very promising vein has been opened, and will hereafter supply boats at that point. Sixty miles from Bannock, on the Big Hole, at Summit district, near Virginia, and on Jack Ass creek, east of the Madison, veins from 4 to 5 feet in thickness have been discovered on the surface. On the Dearborn, about 40 miles from Helena, a vein has been opened, and ready sale is found in Helena for coal for foundry, gas, and other purposes, and for fuel. On the Teton, Marias, Blackfoot, and in numerous other places in the Territory, lignite is found in great quantity.

MEMBERSHIP IN THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTANA

By Act of the Thirty-First Session (1949) of the Montana State Legislature, the Historical Society of Montana is authorized to accept applications for and to grant membership in the Society. Paid-up members are entitled to receive the MONTANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY (a quarterly) during their period of membership. Term of membership (annual) is for the calendar year unless otherwise specified.

The Historical Society of Montana has active, associate, corresponding and affiliated members. Application may be made at any time.

Active members are patron, life, and annual members. The contribution of one thousand dollars (\$1,000.00) or more entitles the contributor to be enrolled as a patron. The contribution of one hundred dollars (\$100.00) entitles the contributor to be enrolled as a life member. Patrons and life members are not required to pay annual dues to the Society. Annual members are enrolled upon payment of three dollars (\$3.00) a year in advance.

Associate members are enrolled upon the annual payment of ten dollars (\$10.00) in advance. A person who has been an associate member for twelve (12) consecutive years shall be enrolled as a life member.

Corresponding members include persons who are not resident in the State of Montana, whose services in procuring donations for the historical library and museum, and other services, entitle them to recognition. Honorary members are persons who have made a distinctive contribution to the State or to the United States, through literary, scientific or public service attainments.

Affiliated membership is for any organization or its branches which is interested in the work of the Historical Society of Montana. Affiliated members are enrolled in the Society upon payment of any one of the above designated membership fees. Libraries, civic, fraternal, professional and labor organizations, educational institutions, and cultural and study groups, and special service clubs, are eligible for affiliated membership.

THE MONTANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY is sent to all paid-up members.

Address all correspondence relative to membership, and copies of the MAGAZINE OF HISTORY to the Historical Society of Montana, Helena, Montana.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MONTANA

BOOKS AND REVIEWS

BACK TRAILING ON OPEN RANGE, by Luke D. Sweetman.
(The Caxton Printers Ltd., 1951, 247 pp. \$3.50.)

Back Trailing On Open Range recounts part of the early life and adventures of the author, Luke D. Sweetman, Montana cowboy and rancher, who came to Montana Territory in the fall of 1885 as member of a crew in charge of a herd of "Southern cattle." In a larger sense, these personal reminiscences serve as a backdrop for an excellent account of the Montana cattle industry in the Northeastern part of the state in the decade 1880-1890. These were the years in which the vast grasslands of Montana, left idle by the wholesale slaughter of the buffalo, were stocked with cattle trailed in principally from Texas, Oregon, Washington and Idaho.

The author presents informative first-hand accounts of ranching methods and practices, the severe winter of 1886-1887 and disastrous aftermath, stock associations, cattlemen's conventions, investments of foreign and Eastern capital in horse and cattle ranches, and the building of the Great Northern Railroad. The book is replete with intimate glimpses of the daily life of the cowboy on the open range, the line camp, the roundup and trail drive.

The volume is much more attractively written than the average representative of its type. Numerous pen sketches by L. D. Cram, illustrating incidents mentioned in the narrative, greatly enhance its value.

Detracting somewhat from the over-all excellence of the book is the absence of a larger and more detailed map showing the location of towns, ranches and forts as they spread out from Miles City, the "cow capital" of the Northwest. In addition, a short biographical sketch of the later life of the author would have been appropriate since the volume covers his activities only during the years 1885-1890.

Alton B. Oviatt

Montana State College, Bozeman.

OREGON IMPRINTS, 1847-1870, by Douglas C. McMurtrie. (University of Oregon Press, Eugene, Oregon, 1950, pp 206, Buckram \$5.00, Paper \$3.00.)

Douglas Crawford McMurtrie was one of the most prolific and indefatigable typographers and bibliographers in America, five pages in the **Library of Congress of Printed Cards** being devoted to his works. His death in Chicago in 1944, where, since 1927, he had been director of the Ludlow Typograph Company, was great loss in the field of American publications.

Such wide-spread activity, however, was bound to make some of his contributions inconclusive and at times mis-leading. For instance, serious imperfections impair the value of his **Montana Imprints, 1864-1880**; imperfections brought to the attention of a committee at present engaged in a study of nineteenth century Montana book publishers. This committee has found in the McMurtrie survey of this state not only errors in dates but surprising omissions, even in the limited field in which the bibliographer set himself to work. But these omissions are perhaps understandable on the premise that a bibliographer's work is never done, his sources frequently being exceedingly difficult to come by.

In Pacific Northwest bibliography, McMurtrie was a pioneer and an astonishingly able workman, as the recently published **Oregon Imprints, 1847-1870** convincingly proves. This is largely because, in this case, he was only one of several responsible for the survey, among his chief helpers being Miss Martha Montague and Mr. George N. Belknap, University editor. In a careful introduction, Mr. Albert H. Allen, a notable editor and bibliographer in his own right and McMurtrie's Chicago assistant for many years, presents in detail the history of the enterprise and, in a preceding prefatory note, a concise biography of McMurtrie. Over 600 titles are listed in the book, including 30 entries of unlocated items. In addition, there are 59 broadsides, and other items.

Printed in large, clear type, **Oregon Imprints, 1874-1870** is an unusually fine piece of scholarship. A full subject index at the end makes reference easy. Since the issuance of this volume, Mr. Belknap has printed a supplement of 36 pages.

Rufus A. Coleman

Montana State University, Missoula.

MILITARY LIFE IN DAKOTA: The Journal of Philippe Regis De Trobriand. Translated and edited from the French original by Lucile M. Kane. (St. Paul, Copyright 1951, by the Alvord Memorial Commission, 395 pp. Illustrated. \$7.50.)

Only now and then does one find a volume so well prepared and so interesting in historical data. The title, while admirably fitting the contents, does not reveal the additional features show-

ing the human side of the events which De Trobriand, then a colonel, recorded, and which enrich the entire journal. There is a word picture of the Indian frontier, written by a man who saw beyond the "call of duty," and let personal interest in humanity and a fading Indian "culture" not be regimented into the narrow confines of formal reports.

Chronologically the book centers around 1867 and 1868, and while chiefly concerned with military life in the present North Dakota, also embraces eastern Montana. Considerable attention is devoted to the Arikara, Gros Ventres, Mandan, Sioux and other tribes of the Upper Missouri, and the payment of government annuities to the Indians in food and merchandise. Inter-tribal rivalry, warfare, and changes caused by Indian treaties with the United States are described. The interesting tribal customs apart from warfare and hunting and the part of the women in the whole drama of primitive life are carefully taken up.

Life at the various military posts especially Fort Stevenson visited by De Trobriand is given detailed treatment, and civilians, personalities, intrigues, domestic life and hardships are not passed over. Navigation of the Missouri comes in for a fair share of attention. To add to an already significant journal, De Trobriand artistically made sketches of the posts, persons, scenery, and other observations. Eleven of these illustrations and a picture of De Trobriand are reproduced in the book.

Among the accomplishments of De Trobriand prior to writing this account was a literary and artistic background in France and in the United States, as well as military service in the Civil War. His ability to observe even the small things enabled him to inject personal interpretation into his efforts of preserving the memory.

The journal of De Trobriand was translated from the original French manuscript by Lucile M. Kane, and edited by her. An introduction, footnotes, index, and bibliography have been carefully prepared. The volume will find a welcome from the reader of western narratives for personal hobby, as well as from the researcher and scholar, and libraries having western history departments. This is the second publication issued by The Clarence Alvord Memorial Commission of the Mississippi Valley Historical Commission, and released by the Minnesota Historical Society.

Albert J. Partoll

Missoula, Montana.

CALAMITY JANE, 1852-1903: A History of Her Life and Adventures in the West. By Nolie Mumey. (The Range Press, Denver,

Colorado, 1950. \$5.00. Edition limited to 200. pp. 146, folding map. 2 pamphlets, 13 illustrations.)

This book is a collection of newspaper stories, excerpts from county records from local histories and other books and hitherto unpublished manuscripts all relating to Calamity Jane. There are few editorial comments. The book is a valuable store of materials for anyone wishing to make a study of its heroine. It is attractively printed on fine paper.

WANDERSONG, by Eleanor Banks. (The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1950. 309 pp. Jacket by George Bonner; Map and pen illustrations by Julia Wallace. 20 photographic reproductions, \$4.00.)

A narrative of the human side of pioneering, centered around Henry MacDonald. A daughter's tribute to the memory of her father who was in Montana in territorial times and later was active in sheep ranching. Interesting and generally descriptive of the pioneer period, presented in a novelized style.

CHARLES W. SMITH'S PACIFIC NORTHWEST AMERICANA, Edition 3, Revised and Extended by Isabel Mayhew, (Oregon Historical Society, Binfords and Mort, Publishers, Portland, Ore., 1950. \$10.00.)

Contains 381 pages, cloth bound, and has items running to Number 11298. This is a checklist of books and pamphlets relating to the history of the Pacific Northwest. Most valuable as a reference work for libraries, researchers and bibliographers.

IMPRINTS ON PIONEER TRIALS, By Ida McPherrren. (Christopher Publishing House, Boston, 1950, pp. 381. \$4.00.)

This is a collection of stories told "to the author by her uncle," Hugo Hoppe, a Montana Pioneer, by other oldtimers and of events known personally by the author. It includes colorful descriptions of fur traders, freighters, cowboys, miners, Indian fighters, and road agents, Calamity Jane and other characters.

A number of mistakes are noted such as "Senator Clark was a Republican," (p. 223). Another error "Descendants of John Colter live in Helena where they operate the Colter Hardware Store." (p. 351). She was apparently confused by the name Holter Hardware Company owned by quite different people. The book should interest those who love the widest stories of the old wild west.

THE LOG OF THE OLD SARGE, By Arthur K. Serumgard. (Helena, 1950, Litho-Typed, pp. 185, paper cover.)

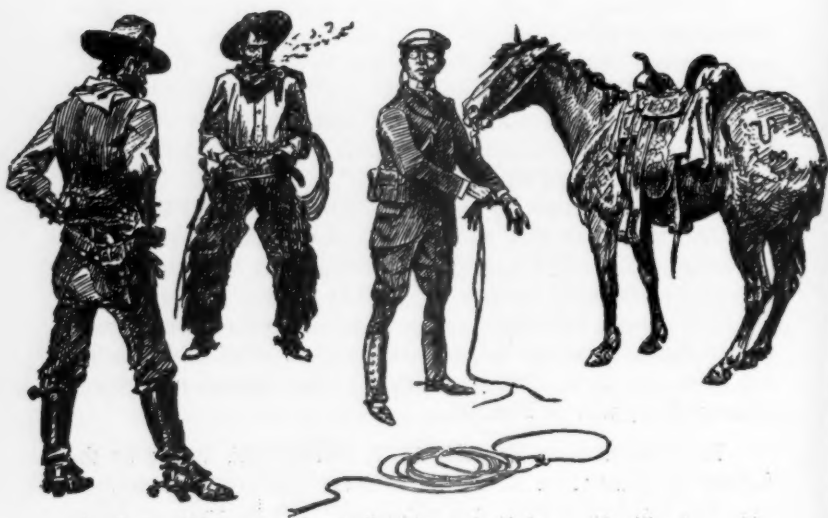
The reminiscences of a veteran of War I and War II recorded as he personally interpreted the many events. A Montanan's addition to army life, written without pretense of literary style or restraint of expression.

The Hudson's Bay Record Society of London, which heretofore has had an arrangement with the Champlain Society for issuing publications, announces that hereafter only members of the Hudson's Bay Record Society will receive its volumes. Membership in the H.B.R.S. is limited as to number, and its annual published records are source material drawn from 30,000 documents in its archives. To date twelve volumes have been issued, some of which have a direct bearing upon Montana history. The three volumes covering McLoughlin's Fort Vancouver Letters, 1825-1846, and Simpson's 1828 Journey to the Columbia touch upon old Oregon in pre-territorial days of Montana. Peter Skene Ogden's Snake Country Journals, 1824-26 is now taking shape as the thirteenth of the series.

Republication of certain western books makes available sources out of print for some time. Recent reprints and in some cases revised editions are: *THE LIFE OF JAMES BRIDGER*, (1804-1881), by J. Cecil Alter; *SEVENTY YEARS ON THE FRONTIERS*, by Alexander Majors; *UNCLE DICK WOOTON*, The Pioneer Frontiersman of the Rocky Mountain Region, by Howard L. Conrad; *FOUR YEARS IN THE ROCKIES*, Adventures of Isaac P. Rose, by James B. Marsh; *THE OVERLAND STAGE TO CALIFORNIA*, by Frank A. Root and William E. Connelley; *THE RIVER OF THE WEST*, by F. F. Victor, (with a special preliminary preface by J. Cecil Alter). These were issued by various publishers and may be available through local trades channels, or can be obtained through William F. Keller, 544 Westview Ave., Cliffside Park 10, New Jersey, sales trade agent and supplier to libraries.

The *Communique*, Vol. IX, No. 2, March, 1951, issued by the School of Journalism at Montana State University, announces that The University Press has published "The Journals of David Thompson," edited and annotated by Miss Catherine White of the University Library staff. No copies are yet available even for review, but it is expected that some development in the plan of distribution will be announced soon. This quarterly will carry the announcement when the volume is released.

John Work of the Hudsons Bay Company is remembered in Montana and Northwest history for his fur trading activities. His journals have been published in historical quarterlies and in separate volumes and at times the researcher must do considerable checking to find certain years covered. Of great assistance will be the appendix of **The Journal of John Work**, (January to October, 1835), annotated by Henry Drummond Dee, published as Memoir X, by the Provincial Archives of British Columbia, (Victoria) which lists all the Work journals so far printed.



J. W. 1835

THE INITIATION OF THE TENDERFOOT

NOTES AND COMMENT

This issue of THE MONTANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY, the second of Volume One, features the silver fleece cover in recognition of the sheep raising industry, which has been an important factor in Montana's economy and history.

A recent discovery of mastadon bones near Deer Lodge has focused interest and speculation on the animals which "positively" roamed Montana in pre-historic days. The skeletal remains are being assembled at the Montana State University at Missoula. In a future article this quarterly will have an account of the excavation to rescue the bones, and identification of the elephant-like tusked animal. At press time the discovery was attracting national attention from geologists, paleontologists, naturalists, botanists, and historians. Unfortunately the skull of a mammal which was found in the same excavation was damaged by vandals and the teeth stolen. The theft occurred while the bones were temporarily stored in a trailer near the discovery site. In the interest of research and science it may be pointed out that any discoveries of pre-historic bones, remains of previous civilizations, and the like should be left untampered with and the facts communicated to competent specialists at our educational institutions. Removal of delicate remains by the unversed may result in great loss or damage, and the failure to record observations may make the find lose its scientific value.

It is hoped that the respective organizations of the Montana Institute of Arts, and the Montana Academy of Sciences will send a brief history of their founding and purpose. This information should be assembled while the facts are available from actual participants and records. About 500 words each would be appropriate.

Frequently questions are received relative to the origin of the name of our state, the history of the state flower, the history of the state flag, the state seal, and state bird. It is contemplated to have an article covering these based upon original sources and citations for all facts. Apparently these topics come up in schools occasionally and there are times when reference books are not readily available. The "hear-say" versions (undocumented) to say the least are interesting if not astounding.

It appears that in some manner an office and name of the office holder in the Sons and Daughters of Montana Pioneers was "inadvertently" left out in the list supplied. The corrected list for president and three vice presidents is: President, William

Bryan Kantner, Deer Lodge; First Vice President, Donald Thexton, Ennis; Second Vice President, Robert J. (Bob) Cooney, Helent; Third Vice President, Edgar M. Hall, Helena. Other officers as noted in our last issue are properly listed.

The Historical Map of Gallatin County recently prepared and printed with descriptive paragraphs by The Montana Institute of Arts, Bozeman Branch, History Group, and priced at 25 cents, is a welcome addition to county history. Other counties might well take note if they have not already prepared a similar map. Visitors and tourists as well as Montanans will find the map worthwhile. It may be obtained for the small charge from Prof. M. G. Burlingame, Montana State College, Bozeman, Montana.

In 1895 Samuel L. Clemens (Mark Twain) lectured in several Montana cities while on a tour of the northwest. Prof. Rufus A. Coleman of the Montana State University, Missoula, is making a study of these appearances and will appreciate information of any nature on the noted man's activities in Montana or other western states. Personal anecdotes, newspaper dates, programs, receptions, autographs are of interest.

Glacier National Park on the American side of the 49th Parallel, and Waterton Lakes National Park in the Canadian Rockies offer much of interest to the tourist and should be a "see first" for Montanans. An interesting circular of tours of this vacation land is available from the Glacier Park Transport Co., Glacier Park, Montana. Another "see first" is Yellowstone National Park, which has many unique features worth seeing. Most railroads and bus lines have descriptive literature available.

A directory of museums in Montana is now in preparation. To assure completeness it is requested that information on any museum, public or private, be sent to the Historical Society. Data sent should include the kind of articles assembled, such as Indian artifacts, pioneer items, geological specimens, natural history, and the like. Date of founding, where located, whether general or specialized, whether classified and catalogued, and whether privately or publicly financed, should be recorded in the notes sent. The name and address of the informant is important. When the compilation is complete it is planned to publish the facts in this quarterly.

A commission created by the 1951 State Legislature has been appointed by Governor John W. Bonner to purchase the Charles M. Russell paintings at Great Falls to be displayed in the new Veterans and Pioneers Memorial Building in Helena. The state is

to appropriate \$62,500 providing the same amount is raised by public subscription. On the commission are (two-year appointment): Norman Winestine of Helena; William R. MacKay of Roscoe; Ed Craney of Butte; Lester A. Colby of Missoula, and Douglas Parker of Shelby.

To the many "brother or sister" historical publications from other states, THE MONTANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY wishes to express appreciation for their kind congratulations on the founding of the Montana quarterly. This kindred feeling, can come only from others who know of the efforts, research, manuscripts which are promised but never sent in, author's temperament in evading time schedules, suggestions of doubtful value from the uninitiated, tricks in transposing letters. In closing a little poem very much to the point may be in order.

Typographical Error

(From Mooremack Quarterly)

The typographical error is
A slippery thing and sly;
You can hunt it 'till you're
dizzy,
But it somehow will get by.
'Til the plates are off the
presses

It is strange how still it keeps,
It shrinks down in a corner
And it never stirs or peeps.

That typographical error,
Too small for human eyes,
'Til the ink is on the paper,
When it grows to mountain
size.

The remainder of the issue
May be clean as clean can be,
But the typographical error
Is the only thing you see!

CONTRIBUTORS — PERSONAL MENTION

John F. Bishop's narrative on the beginning of the Montana sheep industry is a welcome addition to historical sources. His daughter, Miss Jean Bishop of Dillon, is a member of the board of trustees of the Historical Society of Montana, and presented the manuscript for publication.

Lew L. Callaway is a distinguished member of the Montana Bar and former Chief Justice of the Montana Supreme Court. He has maintained a deep interest in Montana history for many years and has had personal acquaintance with many pioneers and events in making the Treasure State.

Kenneth Ross Toole has specialized in research on the Clark-Daly rivalry, with special reference to a detailed biography of Marcus Daly. He has been appointed Director-Librarian of the Library and Museum of the Historical Society of Montana.



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